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Imprimatur Doctiſſimus hic *De Paradiſo Terreſtri* Tractatus.

Jo. Hall, Rev. in Chriſto Patri,
Humphredo, D. Epiſc. *Lond.*
à Sac. Domeſt. *Apr.* 3. 1666.

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11-Yi Tho. Smith

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Terrestrial Paradise,

AIMING

At a more probable DISCOVERY

OF

The true SITUATION of that happy place of our First Parents Habitation.

By *MARMADUKE CARVER*, Rector of *Harthill* in the County of *York*.

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui. Ovid.

Ζήτησον Παράδεισον—— Orac. Magic.

LONDON,
Printed by *James Flesher*, and are to be sold by *Samuel Thomson*, at the Bishop's head in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1666.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

9 Nc

TO

The most Reverend Father in God,

GILBERT;

Lord Arch-bishop of CANTERBURY, *his Grace, Primate of all* England *and Metropolitan; and one of His* MAJESTIES *most Honourable Privy Council.*

MAY it please Your Grace to vouchsafe the Patrociny of Your great and worthy Name to this mean and unpolished Discourse, framed many years agoe upon a private occasion, and for private satisfaction onely; but passing into the hands of divers eminently famous for their Piety, Learning, and Station in this Church, was by them adjudged not unuseful to communicate to the Publick, as relating (though more remotely) to a Concern of the whole Catholick Church, (I adde, the *Jewish* Synagogue

nagogue alſo) in vindicating the truth of *Moſes*'s Deſcription of the *Terreſtrial Paradiſe* from the Blaſphemies of Heatheniſh Infidels, (*Celſus, Porphyry, Julian the Apoſtate*, &c.) and the more Heatheniſh Chriſtians of theſe later times, the Antiſcripturiſts, who ſpringing (as the *Spartæ* from the teeth of the Serpent, ſo theſe) from a prodigious mixture of Phariſaiſm and Sadduciſm, epidemically raging in theſe laſt years, (under various diſguiſes) have arrived at length to that height of ſuperlative Inſolence, as (among other their Blaſphemies) to propound the Hiſtory of *Paradiſe* to ſcorn and deriſion, as a mere *Utopia*, or Fiction of a place that never was, to the manifeſt and deſigned undermining of the Authority and Veracity of the Holy Text: the conſervation of which (next under his Sacred Majeſty, the great *Defender of the Faith*) being by the Divine Providence intruſted to Your Grace, (whom he hath

extra-

extraordinarily furniſhed with all excellent Gifts for the Government of ſo eminent a portion of his Catholick Church as this is of which he hath made Your Grace Overſeer) I was encouraged, and ſoon after emboldned, (by the experience of Your generally-known and unparallel'd Clemency, Candor, and Condeſcenſion, not to have been expected by one ſo inconſiderable and a ſtranger) to advance to this preſumption, to crave Your Grace's Patronage for what may herein be obſerved conducing to the Vindication thereof: Not altogether doubting (conſidering the Cauſe wherein I am ingaged) but that he who *out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings perfecteth ſtrength to ſtill the enemy and avenger*, may ſo level this pebble taken out of the bag of a poor Shepherd, as, if not to pierce the brow, yet to ſtop the mouth of that *Goliah* that *blaſphemeth the Hoaſt of the living God.* For the many miſtakes, errours and imper-

fections which every-where will betray the weakness of the Author, as I humbly crave Your Grace's and the Churche's pardon and pity, as being not onely easie for me to fall into, but (considering the great disadvantages I labour under) morally impossible for me to avoid; so for the blame of them I am content (after much reluctance to the publishing of them) to charge my self with it, being not unwilling to sacrifice my own credit to save (though but in this one particular) the Credit of the Holy Scriptures. Our Lord *Jesus* Christ, the *Great Shepherd* of the Sheep, and *Arch-bishop of our Souls*, long preserve Your Grace, to the great good of his Church; and, having served Your Generation by the will of God, vouchsafe You that *Crown of Glory that fadeth not away, reserved at his appearing for all that faithfully serve him*: Which is the daily Praier of

Your Grace's humbly and affectionately devoted Servant,

M. C.

To the Judicious and Ingenuous Reader, especially the professed Divine.

HOW *many Pens have been imploied in this Enquiry concerning* the Place of the Terrestrial Paradise, *and how much rubbish hath been digged up, and dust raised, to the great hindrance of discovering that which was so eagerly sought for by a multitude of contradictory Opinions, and some of them hardly reconcileable to Sense or Reason, is sufficiently known to all, and is too manifest by the Consequents. For while some have evacuated the Letter, to plant a Cabalistical or Allegorical Paradise of their own, others sought for Paradise under the Orb of the Moon, or far above the tops of the highest Mountains, without the vierge of this habitable world;*

world; and others taking it for the whole compass of the Earth, and others for this part, others for that, some under the Equinoctial line, and some under the Arctick Pole, or Antarctick Circle, some in the East-Indies, some in the West, some in Syria, some in Judæa, and some of late in France; (and indeed where not, where a wanton fancy or an ignorant impudence is pleased to place it?) and with no less absurdities vexing the four Rivers with incredible down-falls and uprisings, in so occult passages and strange distances, that to undertake in good earnest to confute them were to be mad for company: It is come to pass that the faith of very many hath been stumbled, and in some turned to so professed a despair of finding that place, that they count it not onely an impossibility, but an impiety, to attempt a discovery of it; (Impie, locum quæris quem Deus occultum velit, saith Pererius.) Though it cannot be denied

that

that Moſes *did on purpoſe enlarge himſelf in ſo full and exact a Topography, (the like not to be found in the Scriptures, or ſcarce any Secular Author) to acquaint the men of his Age, (whereto his Deſcription is fitted) and all ſucceeding Generations, with the true Situation of that Place. But (which is worſt of all) beſide the miſchief hereby occaſioned to Believers, it hath opened the mouths of Atheiſts and Infidels, to impeach the Holy Scriptures of falſhood, who (both in former and latter daies) have hereby taken advantage to propound the Hiſtory of* Moſes *to be conſidered at no higher a rate then a mere* Romance.

The firſt that I meet withall (after the Dotages of the School-men upon this Queſtion were found ſo far unable to occur, as rather to foment this Scandal,) was Auguſtinus Steuchus *Biſhop of* Eugubium, *who, by the advantage of the* Vatican *Library, (whereof he was Keeper)*

per.) did first (as himself saies in his learned Cosmopœia upon Genesis) undertake to assert the Description of Paradise to a Consonance of Historicall and Geographicall verity: And herein he was followed by divers Learned men: and in Anno 1581. the Divines of Lovain set out a Topographicall Description and Map of Paradise, (accordingly as he had hinted) about the Confluence of Tigris and Euphrates in Babylonia. But the Learned Franciscus Junius pursuing the overture of that Discovery, but pitching the place a little more to the North in the same Region, did with so much accurateness clear this Question, that the whole Church of God is much beholden to him for this, and not a little for other his Annotations relating to Sacred Geography, wherein I know none before him, and very few since him, that are to be admitted to a Competition of the honour of that service. And if that

Worthy

To the Reader.

Worthy man had been as happy in pitch-ing upon the right place, as he was ela-borate in his Deſcription of Paradiſe, *there would have needed no more to have been ſaid upon this Argument, for ſatisfy-ing that imbred deſire we all are affected with, to know the Place of our Firſt Pa-rents Habitation, or to* ſtop the mouth of the Enemy and Blaſphemer.

In my younger years and firſt Tyro-ciny in Divinity, while I was yet more patient of ſtudy, (my body not being then broken with ſo many and great infirmities as now it is, and for many years hath been) I was deſirous (according to the means that I had) to ſatisfie my ſelf in this Queſtion. For though it be not of ſo high a nature but that many a good Chri-ſtian, holding the myſtery of Faith in a pure Conſcience, may be ignorant of it without hazzard of his Salvation; yet I alwaies conceived that when we ſpeak of Theology as a Science, (which is the Pro-

feſſion

feſſion of the Divine) whatſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath revealed in the Sacred Code, though of remoter concernment, belongs ex officio *to our cogniſance and ſtudy. The Opinion of* Junius *having at that time ſo univerſally obtained, and (which is rare, and an argument of the great veriſimilitude that it carried with it) being both approved and improved by Learned men of both Perſuaſions, (both Proteſtants and Papiſts) I ſaw great reaſon to acquieſce in it, as believing it might be made good againſt all oppoſitions; until, upon a ſtricter examination, ſome Doubts did ariſe, and afterwards multiply, to ſuggeſt a fear whether he might not have miſtaken his ground, and conſequently whether it might be ſafe to hazzard the trial of this Queſtion upon thoſe Evidences which the place he pitched upon might ſeem to afford. And hereupon being brought again under an unquiet of mind, I was enforced to caſt about, and*

enquire

enquire whether ſome other place might not haply be diſcovered, that with greater probabilities might anſwer the Deſcription of Moſes: and having arrived to ſome ſatisfaction therein, it happened that, undertaking to preach through the Hiſtory of the Creation before an Honourable Auditory, when that Paragraph of Paradiſe came in its courſe to be ſpoken to, giving an Interpretation according to the apprehenſions I had entertained, which could not be without ſome reflexion upon Junius, (but briefly, and remembring my ſelf to be in the Pulpit) a very Worthy Gentleman of happy memory, (Sir Richard Dyet, one of the Council in the North) well known and much honoured in thoſe parts for his Prudence, Integrity and excellent accompliſhment in all kind of Learning, having throughly digeſted the Opinion of Junius, as it is alſo farther managed by Sir Walter Raleigh, was pleaſed to entertain a debate with me

about

about it, and for divers days to discuss the Question; till at length there was raised in him also a jealousie, that the Description of Junius was not so exactly adapted to that of Moses as he had apprehended; and thereupon desired me to draw up in writing what I had meditated upon the whole matter: which accordingly I did, having the benefit of the Library of the Cathedral-Church of St. Peters in York, and the great happiness and exceeding great advantage (never to be forgotten by me) of daily commerce with a Reverend, Pious, and Learned Divine, who both encouraged me to the undertaking, and prevailed with me to communicate the perusal of it to some others; by which means the notice and censure of it hath come into the hands of as worthy, judicious, grave, and every-way-eminent Divines, both for Learning and Piety, as this Church hath any, (and I think it hath many not to be equalled in the Christian world.)

It

To the Reader.

It is now ſix and twenty years agoe and upward ſince the firſt (and onely) Copy was drawn up, with no intention at all as then, and long time after, (till of very late) to publiſh it: in which ſpace of time I have had occaſion to obſerve divers collateral Teſtimonies, which might have been inſerted into the Text for confirmation and illuſtration of many paſſages in the Diſcourſe; but that I abhorr the very thought of a new task, to the certain ruine of my health, already broken even to a diſability of writing, otherwiſe then by the hand of an Amanuenſis. *And for this cauſe I have waved the advice of ſome, whom I have great cauſe to reſpect, perſuading me to put it into the* Latin *Tongue, and to divide the continued Diſcourſe into ſeveral Sections with their Summaries, for the more accommodate uſe and eaſe of the Reader, (for the ſupply of that defect I acknowledge to be wholly due to the favour and pains of a Friend,) being content to ex-*

hibit and ſubmit it as it was in the firſt Copy, without any alteration at all, to the Judgment of this Church in which I was born, and in which, by the Grace of God, I ſerve, hoping for her Indulgence in faults upon the by, ſo I approve mine intention in the main, which is briefly this; That there was in *Armenia Major* a Region called *Eden*, in the Eaſtern part whereof there was and is a River, which with one entire Chanel having watered the place where the Earthly *Paradiſe* was planted, doth afterward branch it ſelf into four Streams, each reſpectively running in the ſame Courſe, and through the ſame Countreys as *Moſes* hath ſet them, and the Countreys themſelves even in after-Ages retaining the ſame Names and Characters by which he hath deſcribed them. *Each particular whereof if I have made good by the teſtimony of* two or three

credible

credible Witneſſes, (*for the Law requires no more, and I have brought no leſs;*) *I ſhall acknowledg I have attained what I aimed at, and ſhall contentedly bear the imputation of many other failings upon the by, which were impoſſible for me to avoid. For under that imperfect diſcovery which we have of thoſe places where the ſcene of this Diſcourſe lies, none of the Ancients having furniſhed us with Tables but onely* Ptolemy, *and his but imperfect ones, and few deſcribing thoſe Regions to any purpoſe, ſo that it was neceſſary to make up that defect by ſcattered Teſtimonies to be gathered here and there where I could find them, and to be managed many times by Conjectures; it will be no wonder if I become obnoxious to miſtakes; and he ſhall forget his Intereſt in the common Humanity that ſhall be too rigorous in imputing them. Grant me, upon the Teſtimonies here produced, that Four ſuch Streams as* Moſes

ſpeaks of were acknowledged for real in after-Ages, and if I erre in the preciſe point of place where any of them breaks from the main Stream, or in the Decourſe of it with all it its gyres and windings, with the reception of other Rivers into it, and many ſuch like, I ſhall willingly acknowledge ſuch unavoidable miſtakes, ſo the main chance be ſaved. And as I ſpeak this with reference to the Map, which muſt ſerve as a Commentary to the Diſcourſe, and was drawn by me as near as I could to the Tables of Ptolemy; ſo in the Diſcourſe it ſelf, in thoſe larger Digreſſions which I make upon the Countries themſelves through which thoſe Rivers paſs, I will not affirm that every Conjecture I make is infallible, or that I may not have erred in divers particulars incidental to the Illuſtrations which were neceſſary for me to proſecute: yet am I not onely willing, but deſirous, to ſee thoſe miſtakes amended,

and

and have ſome hope that, by the help of thoſe Learned men who have begun to open the treaſuries of the Orient unto us, particularly the Tranſlation of the Arabick *Geographers, much light may be fetched, as for rectifying what is amiſs, ſo for confirming much of what I have obſerved; which howſoever it may appear New to the men of this Generation, I perceive by ſuch Writings as have been tranſlated ſince this Treatiſe was finiſhed, hath obtained the credit of ancient and received Truth in thoſe Eaſtern parts. And upon this occaſion I could wiſh, that having ſo great helps from the knowledge of Tongues, plenty of Commentaries, and the like, a little more diligence might be added, as for perfecting Sacred Chronology, ſo for improving Sacred Geography; for want of which not onely many excellent Treatiſes have ſuffered ſome blemiſhes, but a good portion of the Holy Text hath lain upon our hands*

unimproved; yea (which is saddest of all, and therefore most to be heeded) some places of Scripture have been carped at, and made use of by the Adversary, to elevate and disparage the credit of it self: as this very place which I have to discourse upon may serve for an Instance too notorious, which through the negligence of former times, in not making out the truth of it by the help of Geography, but blanching it over with Allegoricall, or impertinent and ridiculous Interpretations, hath suffered even to the imputation of a Fable, (for that is the usual style that Julian in his Blasphemous Rhetorications is accustomed to bespatter the Writings of Moses withall.) And this giveth me often occasion to wonder, whence it should come to pass (except to palliate sloth, and ignorance thence arising) that matters of this nature should be so slighted, and accounted of by very many but as mere Parerga, or things of so minute

and

and invaluable consideration as not to deserve our study: whereas it is certain that, without the help of Sacred Geography, the immediate Literal sense of the Text (which is the Basis of all true Interpretation) cannot in many places be made out, nor the History cleared, nor the Questions obviously presenting themselves discussed; so that if any one stick morosely upon the spirit of any man unsatisfied, it is hardly credible what mischief this may amount to. For the wily Serpent, that early found a hole to creep into Paradise, if he can but get advantage upon such dissatisfaction to suggest a Temptation to discredit, or but doubt of, the truth of any Particle of Scripture, will by degrees improve it to a questioning, and at length a denying the truth of the whole. To quicken our industry to this study, we have not onely the example of the Ancients, who held it to be of singular use, (as appears by Eu-

sebius's *Book* Περὶ τόπων Ἑβραϊκῶν, *which St.* Hierom *for that cause translated into* Latin, *with divers additions of his own*;) *but the great encouragement which these Times afford, by the favour of our most Gracious* SOVEREIGN, *not onely countenancing, but effectually promoving, the advancement of all kind of Learning: By means whereof as the Book of Nature may seem to have received a new Edition by the farther Discoveries of the Secrets of Philosophy; so no doubt the Book of the Scriptures also may receive much light, for the farther discovery of many useful Truths, both in the History and Mystery, that have not yet been so heedfully attended to. An evident Specimen whereof we have in the Writings of the Learned* Bochartus, *and the hopeful Overtures already begun, and successfully prosecuted, by our alike-learned Dr.* Lightfoot.

But

To the Reader.

But I fear (courteous Reader) leſt by this time I may have tired thy patience with this long Preface, which yet was requiſite for me to write, and thee to read; that I might acquaint thee with the motives and manner of my proceeding in this Diſcourſe, and thou mighteſt be prepared to entertain it with the more Candor: which notwithſtanding I deſire not to improve beyond its due bounds, or to prejudice the freedom and liberty of thy Judgment: for as I have dealt with Junius, *I am content, yea deſire, to de dealt withall my ſelf. But then I muſt a[illegible]re thee not to miſtake my dealing with him: for if thou ſhould'ſt imagine that I quarrel with him upon the main matter, thou ſhalt wrong both him and me and thy ſelf. I look upon* Junius *as the ableſt Aſſertor of the Cauſe I contend for, and from whom I received the Light by which I was enabled to ſearch into this Queſtion: It is not the truth of the Hiſtory of* Paradiſe *that I have to debate*

bate with him, but the Situation of it onely in reſpect of the place, and the accommodation of Moſes's *Deſcription to it; in which if I have found ſome reaſons (and here thou haſt them) to believe that he might be miſtaken, and thereupon have been bold to transferr the materials to be ſet up in a more convenient place, I have but followed the example of* Junius *himſelf, (who in like manner dealt with thoſe that went before him) and reſerve a free liberty to every man to vindicate his Opinion from the Objections that the Adverſary may be able to make againſt it, (which ſhall be moſt grateful to me) or himſelf to prompt us to a more probable place then this I have pitched upon; which though I will not aſſert upon ſo high terms as to paſs my word that I have not erred, yet I have not had as yet any prevailing argument to move me to diſtruſt but that I may have pitched upon the right.*

And

And all this may be done without giving any advantage to the common Adversary, who (how impudent so ever) can with no more pretence of reason draw this into consequence, that there was no such place as Paradise, *or so situated as* Moses *had set it, because we are not yet fully agreed upon that very spot of ground where it was; then that there was no such City in* Persia *as* Persepolis, *destroied by* Alexander, *because such as have undertaken to give us an account of the Situation of it conformable to such Characters as ancient Historians have described it by, are not yet agreed upon their Verdict, whether it was* Shivaz, *or* Estacher; *or that there were no such Colonies of the* Romans *here in* England *as* Lindum, Cambodunum, *and many more, because our Antiquaries are at variance in describing the places where they stood, some placing them in one place, some in another.*

their. As for thy part, (Christian Reader, for such I here suppose thee to be, believing the infallible Veracity of the Holy Scriptures) it will be no point of wisedome in thee to smite thy Friends, to gratifie thy Adversaries: Our Contentions are no more but a farther advance in clearing and vindicating the Holy Text, in which thou and the whole Christian (yea and Jewish) Church are equally ingaged as well as we: nor had this Discourse of mine ever (with my consent) seen the light, had I not lately been provoked thereunto upon this very Question by the unsufferable Insolence and Insultation of some Anti-scripturists, a Generation of men lately sprung up amongst us, and growing very numerous and exceeding bold, owing their extraction to the most virulent poison of the leven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, (the perpetual Pests of true Religion) now complying together in a mystical mixture, and much improved by the effectual

To the Reader.

Etual working of the ſpirit of Antichriſt in a multitude of confuſed Sects (both Fanaticks *and* Pro-fanaticks,*) freely dominearing in theſe late years, and (however diſagreeing among themſelves) yet agreeing all together in this, to ſubvert the Foundation of Faith & the Power of Godlineſs; ſuch as are our* Familiſts, Antinomians, Libertines, Hobbians, Ranters, Quakers *and* Seekers, *beſide a great number of many others, who (though not ſo directly and immediately) have by their pernicious and ſeditious Doctrines contributed not a little to promote this Myſtery of Iniquity, and to make way for the birth of this Monſter that now begins to appear upon the ſtage, (a Monſter more prodigious then* Africk *ever bred) to wit, a Chriſtian Atheiſt, acting all the parts of an avowed Infidel under an Hypocritical (and therefore more odious) outſide of a baptized Believer, profeſſing Religion for no other end but to jear it, and reading the*

Bible

Bible for no other end but to blaſpheme it; whom to diſcover and oppoſe. I doubt not but every good Chriſtian, whoſe heart is touched with any zeal for the Honour of God and his Holy Truth, will take himſelf equally concerned to engage with me to the utmoſt of his power. As for thoſe whoſe cuſtom it is (as Sir Thomas More hath obſerved long agoe) to make themſelves merry upon their Ale-bench with the Writings of others, and think themſelves extremely witty if they can break a ſcurrilous jeſt (the Evaporation of Drink and a profane ſpirit) either upon the Argument or the Author; as we are willing to take notice of them among the former company, ſo for their Cenſure we referr them to the Judgment of him who will take an account of every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak; in the mean time wiſhing them more ſobriety.

And now (good Reader) I ſhall keep thee no longer from the peruſal of this

Diſ-

To the Reader.

Diſcourſe, (*lately mine, but now made thine*) *onely deſiring that we may all double our* Praiers to the God and Father of our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt, *that he would* inſpire continually the Univerſal Church with the ſpirit of Truth, Unity, and Concord; and grant that all they that do confeſs his Holy Name may agree in the truth of his Holy Word, and live in Unity and godly Love: *And eſpecially thoſe whom he hath appointed to watch over the Souls of his people, that they may* attend faithfully to the Miniſtry which they have received of the Lord to fulfill it, *by* contending earneſtly for the Faith that was once delivered to the Saints, *and oppoſing vigorouſly, with united hearts and hands, thoſe overflowings of Atheiſm and Ungodlineſs that are breaking in upon us, like a mighty Torrent, and by aſſerting the Truth of God and his Holy Word* in the

the evidence and demonſtration of the Spirit and power, confirming ſuch as ſtand, and ſupporting thoſe that are ready to fall, *by removing ſtumbling-blocks out of the way of the weak, ſtopping the mouth of the Adverſary, and plucking up the Tares which the Enemy hath ſown; endeavouring (as much as in us lieth)* to preſent *every man* blameleſs at the appearing of our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt, whoſe Fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his Wheat into his garner, but the Chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

AMEN.

Errata:

Pag. Lin.

14. 25. Hededis, *r.* Hedenis.

16. 3. דוהר, *r.* דגדר.

A DISCOURSE OF The Terreſtrial Paradiſe.

CHAP. I.

The Opinion of Junius *concerning the place of* Paradiſe *propoſed.*

THE Opinion of *Junius* concerning the place of *Paradiſe* (which is almoſt generally followed by all *Interpreters* ſince his time, not *Proteſtants* only, (both *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*) but even the moſt ingenuous and learned *Papiſts*) is, that it was ſituated in *Chaldæa*, in the Region which *Ptolemy* calleth *Auranitis*, which he ſuppoſeth by the change of a letter to have been corrupted from *Audanitis* or *Edenitis*. The River watering it he takes to be the main ſtream of *Euphrates*,

which toward the end of his courſe divideth it ſelf into four branches. The firſt towards the Weſt, which divideth betwixt *Chaldæa* and *Arabia* the deſert (which *Moſes* calleth the land of *Cuſh*, or, as we (with others) *Æthiopia*) is that which *Ptolemy* calleth *Baar-ſares*, *Strabo Maar-ſares*, *Ammianus* more corruptly *Marſias*, *Abydenus* Ἀχράγαρος, becauſe it emptieth it ſelf into certain Fens abounding with Frogs, which the *Chaldæans* call *Akrukan*: and this he ſuppoſeth to be that which *Moſes* calleth *Gihon*, the ſignification of their names ſo well agreeing, which in both is as much as *Alveus, foſſatúmve deductum atque diſtractum*. The ſecond branch is that which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, and is by *Ammianus* κατ' ἐξοχὴν called *Euphrates*, and therefore without ſtraining ſuppoſed to be *Moſes*'s הוּא פְרָת The third is that which *Pliny* ſaith the *Aſſyrians* commonly called *Armalchar*, *Ammianus* (more truely) *Nahar-malca*, *Abydenus* by a Metatheſis Ἀρμακήλαν, and is the very ſame put into Greek which *Ptolemy* calleth Βασίλειος ποταμός. This he conceiveth to be *Piſhon*, which breaking from the main ſtream at a Town (taking name therefrom) called by *Ammianus Macepracta* (or, as he would have

have it read, *Maja-prakta*) by *Pliny Maſſice*, and running into the River *Tigris* at *Apamea*, not onely mingleth his water, but his name with it, which from thenceforth is called *Paſitigris*, or *Piſotigris*, and entring the *Perſian* Gulph at *Teredon*, watereth by the way the whole Region of *Havila*, *where there is Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx-ſtone*; that is (as he expoundeth it) the Country of *Suſiana*, where all thoſe precious things are to be found. The fourth and laſt branch, called by *Moſes Hiddekel*, he ſuppoſeth to be that Rivolet mentioned (but without name) by *Ammianus*, which being drawn out of *Nahar-malca*, emptieth it ſelf into *Tigris* at *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, and ſo runneth Eaſtward toward *Aſſyria*, as he rendreth *Moſes* words, *Gen.* 2. 14. Theſe four Heads, all drawn from the ſame River, ſuiting ſo handſomely with the deſcription of *Moſes*, beſides the incredible fruitfulneſs of the Eaſtern part of this Region, (where he conceiveth the very *Garden-ſpot* to have been) ſo highly extolled by divers Authors of good credit, work over the exact judgment of this learned man to ſo firm a belief that this was the very place created by God for the habitation of our firſt Parents, that he doubteth not to conclude his exact

and elaborate Diſcourſe with this confident cloſe, *Atque hic quidem* Hedenis *ſitus, qui meâ ſententiâ tam manifeſtus eſt, & documentis certis confirmatus, ut à nemine in dubium vocari poſſit.* Comment. in *Gen.* c. 2.

CHAP. II.

Junius *his Opinion examined, and the weakneſs of the Conjecture from the name* Auranitis *manifeſted.*

BUT (by the leave of ſo worthy a man) though a great veriſimilitude preſent it ſelf in this Deſcription at the firſt ſight, yet being more narrowly examined, ſo many Scruples ariſe to counter-ſway our belief as may juſtly retard our aſſent, and ſuggeſt very great cauſes of doubting. For, 1. what he bringeth from the name of the Region *Auranitis* for *Audenitis* or *Edenitis*, by miſtaking ρ for δ, this is but *gratis dictum*, and a Conjecture (for I think he eſteemed it no more) of no great probability: for though errors in tranſcriptions be very common, (in which regard Conjectures ſometimes become very uſeful)

Scimus, & hanc veniam petimúſque damúſque viciſſim;

yet

yet this doth not appear to have any ſolid ground, becauſe ר and ד are *literæ contrarii ductûs*, the one drawn downward, the other upward; which kind of miſtakes as they are not ſo eaſie, ſo neither are they ſo uſual. Beſides, the name of this Region is diverſly delivered out of *Ptolemy*, none of which much favoureth this Conjecture. *Ortelius* in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus* calleth it *Auramitis*, *Maginus*'s Edition of *Ptolemy* hath it *Auchanitis*; and I ſhould ſuppoſe (for we are but upon conjectures) that this ſhould come neareſt the true reading, the depreſſed draught of the upper part of כ (frequent in Manuſcripts) being miſtaken for a ligature with the following ו, *i. e.* כו for VI, and ſo the true name might haply be *Auchaditis*, or *Achaditis*, from the City *Accad*, one of the firſt four which *Nimrod* built in this Province, the Land of *Shinar*, *Gen.* 10. which ancient name might ſtill continue to the Region, though the City it ſelf changed its name (yet a name (as I ſuppoſe) either of the ſame or equivalent ſignification in the Chaldee tongue.) *Hieronym. Trad. Heb. in Gen.* Achad, *quæ nunc dicitur* Niſibis. *Idem de loc. Heb.* Achad *urbs regni* Nimrod *in* Babylone. *Porrò Hebræi hanc eſſe dicunt*

Meſopotamiæ *civitatem, quæ hodie quoque vocatur* Niſibi, *à* Lucullo *quondam Romano Conſule obſeſſam captámque, & ante paucos annos à* Joviniano *Imperatore* Perſis *traditam.* But I cannot aſſent to S. *Hierom*'s Rabbies, that *Achad* built by *Nimrod* was *Niſibis* under Mount *Maſius* in *Meſopotamia*, for that is out of the Vierge of the Land of *Shinar*; but another in *Chaldæa* upon the River *Euphrates*, divers times mentioned by *Joſephus*, eſpecially *Antiq. lib.* 18. *c. ult. circa initium.* Neardea *dicitur urbs* Babyloniæ, *frequens populo, & agro fertili, qui tantam multitudinem poſſit alere: ad hæc non patet hoſtium aſſultibus, cincta fluentis* Euphratis *& firmiſſimis mœnibus. Eidem flumini eſt &* Niſibis *appoſita*: and again, *circa finem ejuſdem cap. Plerique* (Judæorum) *in* Neardam *&* Niſibin *ſe receperunt, ſecuritatem ſuam reponentes in earum munitionibus, quæ alioquin etiam habitantur à viris bellicociſſimis*; for it was a Frontier-town and a Gariſon, as the name imports. *Jun. in Gen. c.* 10. *v.* 10. But this we are content ſhall paſs for a ſurmize onely, not an aſſertion, as intending here no more but to oppoſe one Conjecture againſt another.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A ſecond Inconvenience of Junius *his Account, as not ſuiting with* Moſes's *deſcription of the Riſe of the River of Paradiſe.*

2. A More conſiderable Doubt ariſeth from the River, which *Moſes* affirmeth to take its ſpring out of *Eden*, and having watered the Garden with one entire channel, משם *ab inde*, after that it divideth it ſelf into four Heads. Thus much *Lambert. Danæus in Antiq.* diligently weighing the Text of *Moſes* hath judiciouſly obſerved; to whom *Alſtedius* (though a preciſe follower of *Junius*'s Topography) doth aſſent. His words are theſe, *Encyclop. l.* 20. *Hiſtoric. c.* 11. *Rectè igitur* Lambertus Danæus *in Antiquitatibus ait, quatuor illa flumina fuiſſe unius & ejuſdem aquæ ſive fluvii ex* Edene *regione naſcentis divortia ſeu brachia; Et addit, Fontem iſtum & fluvium ex eo emanantem in* Edene *regione, antequam ſe in divortia illa quatuor diduceret, Hortum illum terreſtrem irrigâſſe, & quidem totum adhuc & non diviſum: poſtquam autem totum Hortum*

irrigaverat, tunc ſe infra Hortum in quatuor iſta flumina diviſiſſe. How this can agree with the Deſcription of *Funius*, I ſee not; for, in his opinion, the Garden of *Eden* was placed in the utmoſt corner of *Chaldæa*, in an Iſland made by *Naharmalca* and *Tigris*. Theſe are his words. *Fuit igitur* Hedenis *hortus, non in ea parte* Hedenis *quæ cis* Babylonem *eſt, ſed in orientali parte trans* Babylonem *ſitus ſecundum* Baſilium *&* Tigrim *fluvium, ubi fertiliſſimus eſt totius Orientis ager.* But *Euphrates* ere it attain thus far hath ſpent all its diviſions, being it ſelf ready to be ſwallowed up of *Tigris*, who here intercepts a great part of his waters, and carrieth them with him into the *Perſian* Gulf, leaving him no further place for after-diviſions: which that he (or at leaſt his follower *Alſtedius*) wh ohath tranſcribed and approved the obſervation of *Danæus*, ſhould not take notice of, might well be wondred at, if a ſecond error (or ſlumber rather) no leſs ſtrange did not at the ſame time equally poſſeſs them both, about the Head of this River, which *Moſes* plainly affirmeth to have its riſe in *Eden*, and having watered the Garden, afterward to divide it ſelf. Now Geographers commonly place

the

the Head of *Euphrates* in the Northern part of *Armenia major*, where at its firſt riſe it is called *Pyxirates* ſay *Strabo* and *Pliny*, or rather (as *Junius* himſelf corrects them) *Puc-perath*, i. e. *profuſio Euphratis*, from which place to the neareſt part of *Auranitis* in *Babylonia* is above 7 degrees diſtance, which make up 400 miles and above: all which ſpace of ground having courſed through with a large circle, he is ſo far from meeting any Paradiſe, when entring *Babylonia* he is about to divide his Channels, (as according to *Moſes*'s deſcription he ought) that contrariwiſe he haſteneth through as unfruitful a piece of ground as any on the face of the Earth, having *Arabia Deſerta* on the right hand, and the no leſs barren Deſerts of *Meſopotamia* on the left, as by experience they have found who have led Armies that way; witneſs *Xenophon* in the Expedition of *Cyrus*, *Ammianus* and *Zoſimus* in the Expedition of *Julian*, &c. *Junius* may ſeem to have had ſome foreſight of this Objection as ready to incounter him, and therefore in favour of his opinion he tranſlates יצא in *Gen.* 2. 10. not *exit* (though he ingenuouſly confeſs that is the proper importance of the Hebrew word) but *procedit*, as willing to perſwade us that

Moſes

Moſes did not mean, that the River had its ſpring in *Eden*, (for that he knew and confeſſeth to be altogether irreconcileable with his deſcription) but onely that it did proceed or paſs through it: Therefore he giveth us this Note; *Non oritur quidem (nam* Euphratis *ortus in* Caranitide Armeniæ *majoris Præfectura eſt, ubi* Puc-perath, *id eſt, profuſio* Euphratis *appellatur, non autem* Pyxirates, *ut legitur apud* Strabonem, *&* Plinium *libro quinto Natur. hiſtor. cap. vigeſimo quarto,) ſub radicibus montis quem* Capoten *incolæ nominant, ſed delapſus per varios anfractus* Hedenem *uſque procedit quatuor alveis ſive capitibus, ut deinceps oſtenditur. Quamobrem* procedit *potiùs quàm* exit *maluimus interpretari cauſâ evidentiæ.* But doubtleſs the Text would have been more clear if he had tranſlated it faithfully as he found it, and not plaied the Paraphraſt in ſtead of the Interpreter, eſpecially in the very body of the Text. No man knew better then *Junius*, that the proper ſignification of יצא is to iſſue forth, as children in the birth doe out of the wombs of their mothers, whereunto (in regard of that *proluvies, quam ſimul cum fœtu profundere ſolet puerpera)* God himſelf compareth the firſt iſſuing forth of the Sea

at

at its creation, *Job* 38. 8. And if the native propriety of the word in this place be not ſufficient to evince it, the prepoſition מִן following in מֵעֵדֶן puts it out of doubt; for the proper uſe of that particle is to denote *motum à loco*, not *per locum*, or *ad locum*; nor doth the holy Ghoſt, when he would ſignifie the decourſe of a River by, through, or to a place, expreſs it by יצא מִן, but by הבא אל, as *Ezra* 8. 15. True, our learned Country-man Mr. *Fuller* hath obſerved 2 (and but onely 2) places in the old Teſtament, where מִן may ſeem to denote *terminum ad quem*, viz. *Gen.* 13. 11. and 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. But ſeeing the circumſtances of the place ſeem to require it in the one, and an expreſs character in the Hebrew text in a parallel place 1 *Chron.* 13. 6. doth warrant it in the other, leſt any ſhould wreſt this improper uſe to the prejudice of the undoubted ſignification of this particle in other places, he ſubjoyns this Caution: *Rarus eſt hic uſus particulæ iſtius in Hebræa quidem lingua, in Arabica verò frequens, &c.* And ſtrange it is, that *Fuvius* having in the Text changed *exit* into *procedit*, ſhould not alſo have changed *ex* into *uſque*; for what unprejudicate Reader taking his Text without his gloſs, *Miſcel. l. 1. c. 4.*

Fluvius

Fluvius autem procedit ex Hedene, but would from the obvious importance of the words collect, that the original of this River was in *Eden*? certainly, *exit ex* can import nothing elſe.

CHAP. IV.

An examination of the four Channels mentioned by Junius, *and firſt of the upper Stream of* Nahar-malca.

3. AS the main Stream is not able to waſh it ſelf from all Doubts, ſo neither the Channels; which are like to meet with ſuch obſtructions, as may endanger to turn them quite out of Paradiſe. For not to queſtion the number of the Rivers, (though undoubtedly *Euphrates* had more drainings; Thoſe *flumina*) *Babyloniæ*, *Pſal.* 137. 1. where the Captive *Iſraelites* ſat, were (perhaps) none of theſe, eſpecially if the teſtimony of *Alexander Polyhiſtor* be true, *apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. ult. Temporibus*, *inquit*, Joachin, Hieremias *prophetavit, qui miſſus à Deo, cùm Judæos aureo ſimulachro, cui nomen erat* Baal, *ſacrificantes reperiſſet, futuram eis propter hoc calamitatem prædixit; unde* Joachin *vi-*

vum

vum juſſit cremari. Illum autem dixiſſe, Foveas ipſos à Rege Aſſyriorum *captos juxta* Tigridem *atque* Euphratem *eiſdem lignis facturos.* The River *Sud, Baruch* 1. 4. the River *Chebar,* ſo often mentioned in *Ezechiel's Viſions,* whether they were any of theſe four, and which of them, or rather none of them, I know not. *Ammianus* himſelf, quoted by *Junius,* tells us that one of theſe Rivers (*viz.* that which runs through *Babylon)* was ſubdivided into other three, all navigable. *Perfluunt has eaſdem terras, potiores ante alios omnes ij quos prædiximus, &* Marſias, *& Flumen regium, &* Euphrates *cunctis excellens: qui tripartitus per omnes rivos navigabilis eſt, inſuláſque circumfluens, & arva cultorum induſtriâ diligentiùs rigans, vomeri & arbuſtis gignendis habilia facit.* But becauſe many Authors of good credit have agreed upon this number of four, eſpecially *Xenophon* (though he miſ-call *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris)* and *Geograph. Nub.* who gives an exact account of them all; therefore (with thanks to *Junius* for his accurate pains in opening to us the Chorography of this Region) we ſubſcribe to this partition, as containing (though not all, yet) the moſt remarkable branches of *Euphrates:*

phrates: but to accept them as the four Heads of the River of Paradiſe, we cannot; for a main prejudice lieth againſt moſt of them, that they are of a later date then to reach the antiquity of that place, yea ſome of them fall ſhort of the age of *Moſes*. Thus much the Authors themſelves alleadged by *Funius* clearly teſtifie, acknowledging them to have been manufactitious, and drawn out of the main Stream by the induſtry of men. To inſiſt a little upon the particulars *ordine retrogrado*. The upper Stream of *Nahar-malca*, which falleth at *Seleucia* into *Tigris*, and from it (as *Funius* ſuppoſeth) borroweth the name of *Hiddekel*, is ſo inconſiderable a Rivolet, that ancient Geographers (taking it onely for an *Aquæduct*, as indeed it was no more) have made no mention of it among the branches of *Euphrates*, and therefore aſſigned that Eaſtern Iſland (where he imagineth the Garden to have been) to *Meſopotamia*, not to *Babylonia*. His own words are theſe. *Chiddekel*, Hededis *à Septentrione terminus, propriè quidem ſignificat* Tigrin; *hic autem ſynecdochicè denotat ſuperiorem* Nahar-malcæ *vel* Baſilii *alveum, qui ſupra* Seleuciam *influit in* Tigrin, *& nomen ejus mutuatur:*

tuatur: quem alveum priſci Geographi manufactum fuiſſe rati non retulerunt inter Euphratis *alveos; ſed potiùs inſulam quam* Euphrates *cum* Tigri *efficit à* Seleucia Apameam *uſque* Meſopotamiæ, *ac non* Babyloniæ, *tribuerunt.* That all this is true, *Ptolemy* is a ſufficient witneſs, who therefore makes but three branches of *Euphrates*, as acknowledging this for a *Pſeudo*-river, and not worth the mentioning. Nor is there any great likelihood (in my opinion) of that Conjecture, that the name *Hidclito* which *Pliny* giveth *Tigris* (not when it paſſeth by *Seleucia*, but at its firſt riſe in *Armenia*, remote many hundred miles Northward from this place) ſhould diffuſe it ſelf into this River, which is not of his progeny, but the degenerate off-ſpring of another. However (I am perſwaded) it is beyond all example that one River ſhould adopt the name of another, before it mingle its waters with it; for if ſo, then might *Nahar-malca* alſo put in for a title to this name, ſeeing that in like manner emptieth it ſelf into *Tigris* at *Apamea*. But if *Hiddekel* in *Moſes* be the ſame (as in all probability it was) with that mentioned by *Daniel*, and where he ſaw ſome of his moſt famous Viſions, *Dan.* 10. 4. then is the pre-

pretence of this Rivolet to that name rendered yet more ſuſpicious: for *Daniel* tells us that *Hiddekel* was הוא הנהר הגדול, *a great River*, the amplitude of which Epithet all the waters in this Channel are not able to fill; for it was not full 5 miles long, and for the moſt part dry, as being drawn at the firſt, and afterward opened, onely upon occaſion. The firſt Author of it (as *Ammianus* teſtifieth) was the *Roman* Emperour *Trajan*, who cauſed it to be cut, to waft his Navy out of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*; for which cauſe it was opened again by *Severus*, and after him by *Julian*, when the *Perſians* had ſtopped it up. This date falleth far ſhort of the age of *Moſes*, as (I think) that tranſlation doth of his meaning, where קדמת אשור is rendered *ad Orientem Aſſyriam verſus*, for there is neither prepoſition nor ה local, to make room for *verſus* in this place, nor doth that general and ambiguous note, *fluere ad Orientem Aſſyriam verſus*, (which may be ſaid as well of other Rivers as of this) ſute any thing well with the exactneſs of *Moſes*'s deſcription. Therefore they that keep cloſe to the Hebrew, render it either *ante Aſſyriam*, or *ad Orientem Aſſyriæ*, as doth our *Engliſh* Tranſlation: which if it be true, (as for my part

part I think it is) then is this Rivolet clearly caſhier'd out of *Moſes*'s Chorography, as whoſe courſe is wholly terminated to the Weſt of *Aſſyria*, if yet it do indeed reach any part of *Aſſyria* at all; that *Aſſyria* (I mean) which the Scripture properly calleth ſo. For though *Ptolemy* draw down the bounds of *Aſſyria* as far South as *Ara Herculis*; yet the Scripture (when it ſpeaketh of the Country, not of the Kingdom) ſeemeth to give this name properly to that Region alone that lieth about *Ninive*; ſo doe ſecular Authors. *Strabo l. 16. circa initium*: Ἐν ᾧ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ, τὰ τ' Ἀτυρίας πεδία τῇ Νίνῳ πρόκειται, *Trans* Lycum Aturiæ *campi* Ninum *circumjacent*. Dion in Trajano: *Romani flumen tranſeunt*, Adiabenémque *omnem*, *quæ pars* Aſſyriæ *ad* Ninum *pertinuit*, *in ſuam poteſtatem redigunt: Ad hæc* Arbela *atque* Gaugamela, *ubi* Alexander *olim* Darium *ſuperaverat*, *capiunt: ea* Attyria *nominatur*, *literâ S in T à Barbaris commutatâ*. *Pliny* maketh it altogether the ſame with *Adiabene*, *l. 5. c. 12. Ultra* Armeniam Adiabena, Aſſyria *antè dicta*. Now there is no part of *Adiabene* ſo far South as *Seleucia* (where this River falleth into *Tigris*) by $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Degree, that is, 40. miles, in which ſpace

the *Campi Caucha* (as I take it) are placed by *Pliny*, and the Region of the *Garamai* by *Ptolemy*; which puts off the Current of that River at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from the ancient *Aſſyria*, that I queſtion how even his own Tranſlation can be verified of it, *Fluit ad Orientem* Aſſyriam *verſus*. But if this Tranſlation could be juſtified to be unqueſtionable, *Funius* (in my opinion) might with much more probability have made choice of another River rather then this, upon which to beſtow the name of *Hiddekel*, viz. that which *Herodotus* ſpeaketh of *l.* 1. *n.* 193. Babylonica *Regio omnis* (*quemadmodum* Ægyptiaca) *diſſecta eſt in foſſas, quarum maxima navibus tranſiri poteſt, ad Solſtitium hybernum vergens.* Ἐσίχει ϑ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, ἐφ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις ἐκέατο, *Exit autem ex* Euphrate *in* Tigrin *alterum flumen, ad quod urbs* Ninus *ſita erat.* If his meaning indeed be, that there was ſuch a River, as running out of *Euphrates*, emptieth it ſelf into *Tigris* over againſt *Ninive*, this would ſute better with his deſcription, being (as might ſeem) a River of ſome note, and falling more exactly upon that point of the Compaſs that his Tranſlation hath ſet it. But the truth

is,

is, this River alſo is very queſtionable, as having no other authority but the ſingle Teſtimony of *Herodotus* to aſſert it.

CHAP. V.

That Nahar-malca *it ſelf was none of the Four Rivers of Paradiſe, but an Artificial Chanell.*

2. AS the Daughter-ſtream is found to be far under age to claim an inheritance among the Rivers of Paradiſe, ſo the Mother *Nahar-malca* (for out of it was it drawn) will hardly come off with her title upon the ſame trial. The verdict of *Pliny* is full againſt it, giving us a hint of the time when it was cut, and expreſly naming the party by whom, *Nat. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 26. Sunt qui tradunt* Euphratem Gobaris *Præfecti opere diductum, ubi eum diximus findi, nè præcipiti curſu* Babyloniam *infeſtaret; ab* Aſſyriis *verò univerſis appellatum* Armalchar, *quod ſignificat Regium flumen.* Who this *Gobares* was *Pliny* acquaints us not: but ſeeing the name is *Perſian*, and the man himſelf was but a Prefect, not a King, he intimates clearly enough, that this Current was cut during the time of the *Perſian*

Monarchy, at the charges indeed of some of their Kings, (and therefore had the name of *Nahar-malca*) but under the care and oversight of *Gobares* his Lieutenant in those parts: for had it been cut in the time of any of the Kings of *Babylon*, not his cost onely, but his name also (in all likelihood) would have been remembred in this work. Now it is well known that the same year in which the *Babylonians* came under the dominion of the *Persians*, the *Israelites* were released from their Captivity by the Edict of *Cyrus*, to which time from the death of *Moses* there had passed (by certain calculation) no less then 916 years; all which time (and long before) this River (it seems) had no existence *in rerum natura*, and therefore could not be taken notice of in the book of *Genesis*. *Funius* could not be ignorant how apt this scruple was to arise in the mind of the Readers, upon his producing the testimony of *Pliny*, and therefore seeks to elude the force of it, by suggesting a suspicion, that it was but a popular and uncertain Tradition; for, giving the reason of the name *Nahar-malca*, he tells us it was so called, *quòd alveum hunc studio operâque Regum fuisse ductum putaret vulgus*. But sure they were not the *Vul-*

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gus that *Pliny* meant by *Sunt qui tradunt*, but ſuch Authors as, having written the Deſcription and Hiſtory of thoſe parts, he makes uſe of, and now and then names ſome of them, in his Works. For that *Pliny* had this report from the Natives of *Babylonia*, is without all warrant: and if he had, yet ſeeing they lived upon the place, and had reaſon to be acquainted with ſuch paſſages happening in their own Country, their depoſition for the affirmative ought in juſtice to be received before the negative of any man whatſoever, living in an age and place ſo far remote. The Learned *Scaliger* was ſo fully ſatisfied of the truth of *Pliny*'s relation concerning the cutting of this River by *Gobares*, that he ſuppoſeth (by an eaſie change of *G* into *C*) it took from him alſo (as the Author) the name of *Cobar*, and was (in his opinion) the very ſame with *Cebar* in *Ezechiel*, where the captive *Iſraelites* were placed. But though I cannot (for ſome reaſons) ſubſcribe to this Opinion of *Scaliger*; yet is it far more probable then the Opinion of *Junius*, who affirms it to be *Piſon*; for betwixt *Nahar-malca* and *Piſon* there is no affinity, neither in ſound nor ſignification. Nor is that ſurmiſe (for it is no more) of

any validity at all to prove that ever this River inherited the name of *Pison*, because after its joyning with *Tigris* it gives it the name of *Piso-tigris*; for though divers Authors have spoken of *Pasi-tigris*, yet that it should receive that name from its commixture with this River, not one. The testimony of *Pliny* quite overthrows it, for he draws the original of this compound name, not from *Tigris* commixing with any Stream of *Euphrates*, but from the reuniting of his own divided waters; for about 125 miles to the North of *Seleucia* he parts himself into two, and having run all that space in several Chanels, *ubi remeavere aquæ*, (saith he) *Pasitigris appellatur*. And if we desire to know whereabout that was, that which he subjoyns intimates that it was at or about *Selencia* and *Ctesiphon*, for presently he adds, *Atque (ut diximus) inter* Seleuciam & Ctesiphontem *vastus, in latus* Chaldaicos *se fundit*: now this was near upon 60. miles above that place where *Nahar-malta* falls into his Chanel. And indeed if *Havila* be *Susiana*, (as *Junius* expounds it) the name of *Pison* must be drawn up thus high at least, or else it will not answer that which *Moses* testifieth of it, that it *compasseth the whole Land of Havila*: For though

though *Ptolemy* (as we have ſaid) point the North-bound of *Suſiana* at *Aræ Herculis*; yet if that be true which was obſerved, that the ancient *Aſſyria* was equal onely with the bounds of *Adiabene*, all that Region which lieth South thereof muſt be aſſigned to the ancient *Suſiana*: but then *Nahar-malca* is ſo far from compaſſing it, that it waſheth not much more then half part of the Weſtern Coaſt thereof, and that not in an entire Chanel of its own, but as a ſmall addition of a far greater River receiving it, which therefore may in reaſon challenge the honour of this mention before it. But the truth is, *Junius* is miſtaken, in taking *Suſiana* for *Havila*; for there is no authority produced, nor probable conjecture alledged to approve it, ſave onely that there is in this Region *Gold*, *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx-ſtone*; all which becauſe we hope hereafter to find, with better proof, in the true *Havila* that *Moſes* meant, we remit the farther proſecution of that queſtion to its proper place. Onely here let us adde, that ſeeing theſe two Rivers have appeared ſo exceeding doubtful, *Junius* had no cauſe to accuſe ſo many good Authors of negligence, for neglecting them, as approving but onely two

natural Streams of *Euphrates*; *Nam* Mela *quidem*, Plinius, Solinus, *alii*, *negligentiùs videntur perſcripſiſſe duos ſolùm* Euphratis *alveos*, *propterea quòd alios Aquæductus magìs quàm naturales alveos eſſe putaverunt*. And they had good reaſon to think ſo, as appeareth by that which hath been ſaid.

CHAP. VI.

Of the two remaining Chanels, and the Fertility of the Eaſtern part of this Region.

AND are the two remaining Streams then unqueſtionably natural, and not artificial? Doubtleſs they have much more to ſay for themſelves then the former; yet if they be called to the trial, they will not eſcape without ſome ſuſpicion. For, to proceed to the third River, which running through *Babylon* ſtill retains the name of the main Stream *Euphrates*: Some good Authors affirm this Rivèr alſo to have been cut, and name us the party by whom, viz. *Semiramis*, when ſhe built the City: for whereas the Plains of *Babylonia* were all covered with water, as *Herodotus* teſtifieth *l.* 1. *n.* 184. (and then ſure there were none of theſe Rivers) *Belus* going about

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to lay the foundations of *Babylon* drained them, as *Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. ult.* teſtifies: *Omnia (inquit) illa loca aquis contecta fuiſſe dicuntur.* Belus *autem regionem ſiccâſſe perhibetur, &* Babyloniam *condidiſſe.* By which draining of the waters at too great a diſtance (as it ſeems) the City ſoon found the want of it; and therefore *Semiramis* rebuilding and enlarging it, (which *Oroſius* ſaith ſhe did in the 64. year from the firſt of *Ninus*) among other her famous works, ſhe cut a Chanel for this River through the City. Thus much *Pomp. Mela* affirms, *l. 1. c. 11. Ex operibus certè ejus inſignia multa ſunt, duo maximè excellunt; conſtituta Urbs miræ magnitudinis* Babylon, *ac ſiccis olim regionibus* Euphrates *&* Tigris *immiſſi.* Where *Olivarius* hath this note; *Euphrates &* Tigris *olim non* Chaldæam *irrigabant, erat enim regio ſicca, niſi curâ* Semiramidis *adjectis foſſis ambo fluvii immiſſi fuiſſent.* And *Propertius* ſeconds the ſame report with his teſtimony, *l. 3. Eleg. 10.*

Perſarum *ſtatuit* Babylona Semiramis *urbẽ,*
Ut ſolidum cocto tolleret aggere opus, &c.
Duxit & Euphraten *medium, quâ condidit arces.*

Now though *Semiramis* were indeed ancienter

cienter then *Moses*, (albeit *Herodotus* makes her younger, as living but five Ages before *Nitocris*, *l.* 1. *n.* 184. and *Porphyrie apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.* 10. *c.* 3. seems to make her his contemporary) yet if this River were cut by her hand, it could be no River of Paradise, which was ancienter then *Adam* himself. And I cannot persuade my self that by הוּא פרת *ipse Perath*, *Moses* meant any Branch, but the main Body of the *great River*, *the River Euphrates*, (as the Scripture every where calleth it;) which *Moses* therefore forbare to describe by the Countries through which it runs, because it was well enough known to the *Israelites*, as being one of the Bounds of their Land. So that now there remains but one native Stream to this River, (and one we must needs leave it for its ancient Chanell) which may seem by best title to belong to *Naharsares*, though the Etymologie of the Name render even that suspicious also: for *Sares* (as *Fanius* hath observed) signifieth *diductum sive divulsum*, but then we must suppose the reason to have been, not because it self is drawn out of any other Stream, (for so the Antiquity of it should become as questionable as the rest) but because it self is the main Stream out of which

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the rest were drawn; for anciently it emptied itself into the *Persian* Gulph in a proper Chanel of its own. *Sed longo tempore* Euphratem *præclusere* Orcheni *& accolæ agros rigantes: nec nisi per* Tigrin *defertur in mare*, saith *Pliny l. 6. c. 27.* And yet it seems not alwaies to have kept constant to the same Chanel; for if it be Ἀκράκανος in *Abydenus*, (as *Junius* saith) or *Pallacopa* in *Arrianus*, (as its distance from *Babylon* rendreth it very probable) it was several times obstructed or diverted in its course. *Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. ult. Cùm Principatum (ait)* Nabuchodonosorus *accepisset, continuò* Babylonem *triplici muro quindecim diebus munivit, & fluvios* Armachalem *atque* Acracanum *ab* Euphrate *ortos obstruxit.* And *Arrianus de Expedit. Alex. l. 7.* tells at large how *Alexander* stopped the mouth of *Pallacopa*, (as that *Babylonian Satrapa* with great labour had done before) and cut a new one. The same doth *Strabo* confirm out of *Aristobulus, l. 16. Cùm fossam quandam ad paludes & lacus qui sunt* Arabiam *versus tendere animadverteret, habentem os intractabile, & obstructu difficillimum, propter cedentem & mollem terram; aliud novum os aperuisse 30. stadiis à priore,*

capto

capto loco petroſo, atque traducto alveo. So full of uncertainties are all things concerning the Rivers in this Region, that (I think) *Junius* could not have choſen any other, wherein with leſs hope of ſucceſs to have travelled in ſearch of the Garden of *Eden*. As for that which is alledged from ſo many credible Authors concerning the incredible Fruitfulneſs of the Eaſtern part of this Region, it may well enough be granted with ſmall advantage to this cauſe: for that, being but a common adjunct, is predicable of other places as well as this: and though haply there may be ſome ſtrength in this negative Argument, Such a place is not fruitful, *Ergò* it was not Paradiſe; yet the affirmative is but weak, Such a place is fruitful, *Ergò* Paradiſe was there. And therefore I marvel much to find ſo great a Logician as *Alſtedius* was, reaſoning thus: *Paradiſus terreſtris fuit ſitus loco fertiliſſimo & amæniſſimo: Talis autem eſt* Aurantitis, *Encyclop. l.* 20. *Hiſtoric. c.* 11. Can he aſſure us that the place where Paradiſe ſtood doth (even after the Fall, yea after the Cuſtody of the Cherubims is removed, and the Deluge hath marr'd the face of the Earth) ſtill retain the preeminence of fruitfulneſs and beauty above other places?

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Many good Authours of able judgments are of another mind. And if the decision of this Question lay upon this point, many places of the East would disdain to yield this honour to any part of *Babylonia*, if the lavish commendations of Geographers may pass for unquestionable proofs; of which (if it were worth the while) plenty might be produced. Therefore perhaps we shall doe no wrong to *Pliny*, if we take his superlative expression (as the custom is) for a little hyperbolical. *Herodotus* (an eye-witness, and from whom (if I be not deceived) *Pliny* received this testimony) speaks more modestly and warily, confessing indeed that this was the fruitful'st place of the East that he had seen; but how? for wonderful store of Corn, not of Wood. The place is in *Clio*, *n.* 193. *Exit ex* Euphrate *in* Tigrin *alterum flumen, ad quod urbs* Ninus *sita erat. Hæc Regio omnium quas nos vidimus longè optima est, duntaxat ferendo Frumento.* τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην, οὔτε ἄμπελον, οὔτε ἐλαίην, *Nam in arboribus ferendis, Ficu, Vite, Olea, nequaquam de principatu contendit.* Onely afterward he mentioneth some store of Palm-trees, to which *Strabo* addeth some Gardens of Cypresses,

Cypresses, of which *Alexander* was necessitated to make up his Navy, for want of other wood in those parts: πανὸς γὰρ ὕλης ἐνταῦθα, saith *Strabo*, *l.* 16. Now surely to the constitution of an Orchard (as Paradise was) variety of Trees (especially Fruit-trees, such as the Vine, the Olive and the Figg) are as necessary, as the fatness of the Soil to bearing Corn. And that it was so in *Adam*'s Paradise *Moses* assures us, *Gen.* 2. 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food: the Tree of Life also in the midst of the Garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil:* neither of which (I perswade my self) was either Palm-tree or Cypress. But to cut off this controversie: Suppose this part of *Babylonia* were as well stored with all manner of Trees for use and ornament, as it was fertil in bearing Corn; yet if the other parts of *Moses*'s description sute not to it as well as this, the Argument from this alone will inferre no necessary Conclusion: for so *Alstedius* himself hath taught us, that a *Fallacy of the Adjunct* is then committed; *Cùm uno atque altero Adjuncto sumptis, quorum vis est imbecilla, necessarium concluditur. Syst. Log. l. 9. c. 3.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Author's attempt of finding a more probable place for the Seat of Paradiſe. Tigris *and* Euphrates *prov'd to riſe from the ſame Fountain.*

FInding therefore no ſatisfaction in this Deſcription of *Junius*, leſt we ſhould ſeem more willing to find a fault, then to offer our beſt ſervice (though we well know how worthleſs that is) for the diſcovery of the truth; let us lift up our eyes again, and ſee if haply any other place may be diſcerned where this happy portion of ground, ſo much ſought after, may with greater probability be found out. And here we muſt make uſe of the River as our faithfulleſt Guide; which ſpringing out of *Eden*, (as *Moſes* ſaith) afterward divideth it ſelf into four Heads, of which *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (by the conſent of all) were two; not any petty Streams in *Babylonia*, but thoſe two famous and well-known Rivers, which encircling *Meſopotamia* give it its name. But can it ever be proved that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſpring out of the ſame Fountain? This indeed is the great difficulty:

culty: in discussing whereof, if the same spirit that guided the pen of *Moses* shall favourably assist our weak endeavours, the rest of our task will become far more easie. It cannot be denied, that the seeming-concurring testimony of Geographers to the contrary hath so farr stumbled some otherwise godly and learned Divines, that they have broke forth into speeches not very seemly. *Luther, Tom. 6. Comment. in Gen. 2.* calls this *unum de maximis Scandalis in* Mose; and having debated this Question of the distance of the Fountains in the vulgar way, concludes, *Ergò* Moses *evidentissimè contra sensum pugnat.* I will not dissemble, that the reading of this passage struck my spirit with some horrour, and often recalled my thoughts to this meditation, (which otherwise I was willing to have bestowed in more profitable matters) to try if by any means this Scandal might be removed. And why should we despair of effecting this, when even Secular Authours themselves are not at agreement in assigning the Fountains of these great Rivers; some finding them in one place, some in another; some at a larger, some at a nearer distance: A hopefull augure, that at length they may be found so near as to verifie the testimony

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of *Moſes*. *Strabo* (that grave and learned Geographer) ſets them very far aſunder, viz. near upon 312 miles. Διέχουσι δ' ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγριδος περὶ διχιλίους καὶ πενταχοσίους σταδίους, *Fontes* Tigridis & Euphratis *diſtant invicem circiter* ƆIↃ ƆIↃ IↃ *ſtadia*. *Ptolemy* cuts off more then a third part of this diſtance, for he ſets the Latitude of the Fountains of *Tigris* in 39ᵈ. 40ᵐ, of *Euphrates* in 42ᵈ. 40ᵐ; between which there are no more then 3 Degrees difference, which make but 180 miles. But *Procopius* may ſeem to draw them nearer together, for thus he writes, *De Bello Perſ. l.* 1. *Mons non valde præruptus in* Armeniis *eſt, à* Theodoſia *Civitate* 42 *ſtad. diſtans, ad Boream pertinens, unde duo exeunt Fontes totidem Flumina conſtituentes*, Euphratem *dextrorſus*, Tigrim *verò ſiniſtrorſus*. What this Mountain was, and where this City *Theodoſia* was ſituate, (5 miles ¼ to the North of which theſe two Rivers had their Springs) it is not eaſie for us (by help of that broken and imperfect diſcovery which we have of thoſe Eaſtern parts) to determine. In the ſame Book he mentioneth a City of that name not far from *Niſibis*: Anaſtaſia *Civitas condita eſt ab* Anaſtaſio, *ubi erat* Dara *in*

Mesopotamia, *à* Nisibi 98 *stad. distans, in Romanorum Persarúmque confinibus, cui vicina* Theodosia. But this, being well within *Mesopotamia*, could not be the same with the former, seeing it is certain that the Fountains of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were in *Armenia*. More likely it was that *Theodosiopolis* mentioned by *Eustathius* in his Comment upon *Dionysius*'s Περιήγησις, where, speaking of *Armenia*, he bids us note, that the Emperour *Justin* divided it into 4 parts; the first and most renowned whereof was that which was called Ἑπτάπολις, whose Metropolis was *Bazanis*, formerly called *Leontopolis*, ταύτης δὲ ἐστι καὶ ἡ Θεοδοσίου πόλις. But neither is that so precisely bounded, that we have any thing of certainty to affirm concerning the situation of it; nor, if we had, would it be much material to the end we aim at: for though the Testimony of *Procopius* have served us to bring the Fountains of these Rivers nearer together; yet seeing he confesseth them to be distinct, this will not serve our turn. But are there any then that do affirm them to spring out of the same Fountain? Surely, if *Isidorus Hispalensis* do not deceive us, either he himself or S. *Hierome* had read some such thing in an authentick Author,

viz.

viz. *Saluſt* the Hiſtorian; for theſe are his words, *Orig. l.* 13. *c.* 21. *De Fluminib.* Euphrates *fluvius* Meſopotamiæ *de Paradiſo exſurgens.* Saluſtius *autem author certiſſimus aſſerit*, Tigrim *&* Euphratem *uno fonte manare in* Armenia, *qui per diverſa euntes longiùs dividuntur, ſpatio medio derelicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipſis ambitur*, Meſopotamia *dicitur. Ex quo* Hieronymus *animadvertit aliter de Paradiſi fluminibus intelligendum.* Whether *Iſidore* himſelf had ſeen this paſſage in the Works of *Saluſt*, (which now are loſt) or S. *Hierom*'s Works have ſuffered ſome mangling ſince his time, I cannot tell; but the truth is, in the Editions of *Hierome* which we now have this Teſtimony is not quoted ſo fully, for in the place to which he relates the moſt material paſſage is left out. His own words, *De loc. Heb. voce Euphrates*, are theſe: Euphrates *fluvius* Meſopotamiæ *in Paradiſo oriens. Porrò* Saluſtius *author certiſſimus aſſerit tam* Tigris *quàm* Euphratis *in* Armenia *fontes demonſtrari. Ex quo animadvertimus aliter de Paradiſo & fluminibus ejus intelligendum.* That there is a conſiderable difference betwixt theſe two in relating the teſtimony of *Saluſt*, is obvious at firſt ſight,

without a Prompter: for beſides a larger addition in *Iſidore*, that main clauſe, Tigrim & Euphratem *uno fonte manare in* Armenia, is no more in S. *Hierome* then, *Tam* Tigris *quàm* Euphratis *fontes in* Armenia *demonſtrari*; which they might well enough be, though removed at as great a diſtance as ſome have ſet them. Yet can we not honeſtly ſuſpect, that *Iſidore* would falſifie either *Saluſt* or *Hierome* for ſo ſmall a matter. And the obſervation which *Hierome* makes upon *Saluſt*'s words argues, that he conceived ſomething in them remarkable above what was ordinarily to be found, for rectifying a common Errour about the Rivers of Paradiſe. Now that the Fountains of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were to be ſeen in *Armenia* was no news, nor worthy ſo ſolémn a preface to gain credit to the Author, it never being queſtioned by any, but obvious in every Hiſtorian as well as *Saluſt*. But if he obſerved and reported them to flow out of the ſame Fountain, (which was a Secret unto moſt) well might he commend the Teſtimony of ſuch a credible Writer to the conſideration of the men of his time, as a fair way to reconcile the relation of *Moſes* with the truth of Hiſtory, the ignorance whereof had put them upon

ſuch

ſuch prodigious fancies; and ſo his aime may ſeem to have been the ſame with ours, viz. by hinting this Teſtimony, to prepare and procure belief, that nothing was reported by *Moſes* concerning the Original of theſe Rivers, which (if inquired after) might not alſo be made appear by the teſtimony of Secular Authours. But becauſe this report of *Saluſt* comes to us onely at the ſecond hand, and that alſo ſomewhat obſcurely, we are content no more weight ſhould be laid upon it then what in prudence it may be ſuppoſed able to bear: nor is there need we ſhould, having a ſecond at hand ready to be depoſed upon the ſame thing, and that as clearly and fully as we can deſire. This is *Lucan, Pharſal. l.* 3.

Quâque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride *magnus*
Euphrates, *quos non diverſis fontibus edit*
Perſis; *& incertum, tellus ſi miſceat amnes,*
Quod potiùs ſit nomen aquis.——

That he ſets the common Fountain of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Perſis*, whereas, by the undoubted conſent of all that ſpeak exactly, they were in *Armenia*, this ought not to ſtumble any one that is but meanly

converſant in Hiſtories, who cannot be ignorant, that it is common with Writers (eſpecially of thoſe times) to call by the name of *Perſis* all thoſe Countries that at that time lay under the Dominion of the *Perſian* or *Parthian* Monarchy: But it cannot but be grateful to all ſuch as wiſh well to *Moſes*, and would rejoice to ſee his Authority vindicated, to hear a Heathen ſtand up thus ſtoutly in his defence againſt the general vote of Geographers, not obſcurely rejecting their contrary Opinion as an Errour. And he might be the bolder to doe this, if it be true which is obſerved by an able Commentator, (though himſelf incline the other way) that he had the vulgar Creed to juſtifie him in it. *Farnab. in locum. Uterque fluvius oritur ex* Armeniæ *montibus, verùm non parùm diſtantibus; vulgò tamen creditum unum habuiſſe Fontem.* And certain it is that learned *Boetius* (among the reſt) was of this belief; for diſcourſing excellently (as his manner is) how caſual events are guided by Providence, (which he makes the common fountain out of which they flow, and into which at length they finally reſolve themſelves) he illuſtrates it by this Simile of *Tygris* & *Euphrates*, which iſſuing *out of the ſame Fountain*, (ſaith he) and having

having encloſed a large compaſs of ground, at length meet together again, bringing their wreck along with them. His words are in his Treatiſe *De Conſolat. Philoſoph. l. 5. carm. 1.*

Rupis Achæmeniæ *ſcopulis, ubi verſa ſequentûm*
Pectoribus figit ſpicula pugna fugax,
Tigris & Euphrates *uno ſe fonte reſolvunt,*
Et mox abjunctis diſſociantur aquis.
Si coëant, curſúmque iterum revocentur in unum,
Confluat alterni quod trahit unda vadi,
Conveniant puppes, & vulſi flumine trunci,
Miſtáque fortuitos implicet unda modos.
Quos tamen ipſa vagos terræ declivia caſus,
Gurgitis & lapſi deſtinus ordo regunt.
Sic quæ permiſſis fluitare videtur habenis,
Fors patitur frænos, ipſáque lege meat.

CHAP. VIII.

A farther Enquiry where this Fountain is. Objections anſwered.

THE concurring Teſtimonies of theſe Authours will (I hope) be deemed ſufficient to ſupport the credit of this Aſſertion, if we can (by good authority) diſcover

what, and where this Fountain was. And hereunto that clause in the fore-cited Testimony of *Lucan* may perhaps afford us some help; *Incertum, tellus si misceat amnes, Quod potiùs sit nomen aquis.* For though these words be capable of several constructions, (and Commentators have left us here to sink or swim to our selves, though oft-times they spend many lines in less needful Criticisms;) yet to my apprehension the Poet's meaning is this, That these two Rivers after their efflux out of their common Fountain run still so near together, that when they overflow their Chanels, and their waters touch each other, (as, by the supposition he makes, it seems sometimes they do) if then they should intermingle their Streams, it would be a hard matter to determine which of the two Rivers should bear the name of their conjoyned waters. This passage suits so well (save onely the difference of a name) with that Observation which *Cl. Cæsar* brought home with him to *Rome* out of these parts, when he warred in the East, (which was not long before the Poet wrote) that I doubt not but he had relation to it; and the account that *Pliny* makes us of that report of *Cl. Cæsar* is the best Commenta-

ry

ry that we may expect upon that clauſe; *Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Tam vicinum* Arſaniæ *fluere eum* (*ſc.* Tigrim) *in regione* Arrhene Claudius Cæſar *author eſt, ut cùm intumuêre, confluant, nec tamen miſceantur, leviórque* Arſanias *innatat IIII M. ferè ſpatio: mox diviſus in* Euphratem *mergitur.* If we had as full aſſurance that this *Arſanias* of *Cæſar* did flow out of the ſame Fountain with *Tigris*, as his unmixed overflow doth accord with that which *Lucan* teſtifies of *Euphrates*, it would be no preſumption to affirm that they were one and the ſame *River.* And though this be no eaſie task to perform, (no Geographer (that I have met with) having undertaken to give us any account of the firſt Spring of *Arſanias*;) yet ſo much they have acquainted us withall as may ſerve to ſatisfie any ingenuous mind in this matter. *Plutarch, lib. De Fluviis*, tells us a ſtrange ſtory, (as ſome have conſtrued it) though (in our opinion) not ſo ſtrange as true. He ſaith that the River *Tigris* runs into *Araxes*, and ſo into the Lake *Arſacis.* His words are theſe: Τίγρις ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἀρμενίας, τὸ ῥεῦμα καταφέρων εἰς τὸν Ἀράξην καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀρσανίδα λίμνην, Tigris *fluvius eſt* Armeniæ, *defluens in* Araxem *ſimul &* Arſacidem *paludem.* This

relation

relation ſeems ſo incredible to his Commentator *Manſacus*, that he fears not to charge it back upon him for a Falſhood. *Falſum eſt quod docet hoc loco Author noſter*, Tigrim *in* Araxem *defluere. Falſi arguere potes ex* Strabone *& innumeris aliis authoribus.* The reaſon that moved him to be ſo bold with his Author was this then, (as I ſuppoſe) becauſe *Strabo* and other Geographers had told him, that though *Tigris* and *Araxes* flow out of the ſame Mountain, (as ſome ſay) yet their courſe is ſo directly contrary, *Araxes* running into the *Caſpian Sea* on the North, and *Tigris* into the *Perſian Gulf* on the South, that it is not imaginable how they ſhould ever run the one into the other. But had *Strabo* or any other Geographer told him, that there were no more Rivers of this name but one? or that it was not poſſible for any Writer to miſcall another River by that name? Himſelf obſerves a miſtake in the name of the Lake; and why might not the ſame befall the River alſo? That Lake which *Plutarch* here calls *Arſacis*, *Strabo* and *Dionyſius Afer* (as he notes) called *Arſene* and *Thonitis*, and *Pliny Theſpitis*, which he ſuppoſeth ought to be read *Thonitis*: but there is no good warrant for that Correction, for

Theſpitis

Theſpitis is as probable a name as *Thonitis*, and *Ptolemy* calls it ſo, placing upon it a City called *Thoſpia*, from which in probability it borrowed this name. And though *Strabo* make this and *Arſena* the ſame Lake, yet *Pliny* doth not, but ſets them at a good diſtance; for the firſt Lake that *Tigris* runs into he calls *Arethuſa*, *Ptolemy Arſiſſa*, (in all probability *Plutarch*'s *Arſacis*) but placed by him a Degree and more to the North of *Theſpitis*. But whether they were one or ſeveral Lakes, it is not much material to our purpoſe: Moſt likely it is that the Lake either gave or took its name from the River *Arſanias* flowing into it; and ſo did the Country about it, which *Ptolemy* calls *Arſea*, others *Arſena*, but *Procopius* alwaies either *Arzane* or *Arxane*; which hath ſo near affinity to *Araxis*, that it leaves us no juſt cauſe to doubt that *Plutarch*'s *Araxis* is the ſame River that others call *Arſanias*. Which being ſo, we have found theſe Rivers meeting very early together, after which their firſt Conjunction they ſeem not to part aſunder for a long time; for (ſo far as we can diſcern them) they run in the ſame, or a near-adjoyning, Chanel, they fall both into the ſame Lakes, dive into the ground alike,

alike, ſpring again alike: in a word, they ſever not, (at leaſt at no conſiderable diſtance) till in the Region of *Arrhene* (as *Cl. Caſar* hath told us) *Arſanias* floating over his fellow, for the ſpace of 4 miles, at length leaves him, and falls into *Euphrates*. That this is true, we have a credible Author to give teſtimony of it, who gives us good aſſurance withall, that *Arſanias* is indeed no other then *Euphrates*, as *Lucan* called it. *Cl. Marius Victor, Geneſ. l.* 1.

Tertius hinc rapido percurrens gurgite Tigris
It comes Euphrati, *junctâ quos mole ruentes*
Tellus victa cavo ſorbet patefactâ barathro;
Donec in Armeniæ *ſaltus ac* Medica *Tempe,*
Quos non ſuſtinuit, nec jam capit, evomit Amnes.

In that he makes *Tigris* and *Euphrates junctâ mole ruentes*, he plainly enough intimates the Conjunction of their Streams, after which he finds them falling together into a ſubterranean Gulf: this was after they had paſſed the Lake *Arethuſa*, as *Pliny* writing of *Tigris* tells us, *l.* 6. *c.* 27. *Influit lacum* Arethuſam *omnia illata pondera ſuſtinentem, &c. Fertur autem & curſu & colore*

colore diſſimilis; tranſvectúſque occurrente Tauro *Monte in ſpecu mergitur, ſubtérque lapſus, à latere altero ejus erumpit. Locus vocatur* Zoroanda. *Eundem eſſe manifeſtum eſt, quòd demerſa perfert.* Their firſt Efflux after this their new birth out of their common Fountain was (as the Poet tells us) into the Foreſts of *Armenia*, and the pleaſant Woods and Groves of *Media*, (taking *Media* largely, and ſo reaching thoſe parts, though properly aſſigned to *Armenia*, as others have done.) But forthwith they fall into another Lake, viz. *Thonitis*, (as *Strabo* and *Dionyſius*) *Thoſpites*, or *Theſpites*, (as *Ptolemy* and *Pliny* call it;) for ſo it follows, *Alterum deinde tranſit Lacum, qui* Thoſpites *appellatur*, (which *Strabo* tells us was νιτρῶδης, nitruous, and not potable.) Therefore *Tigris* haſtening through it, immediately after it hath acquit itſelf, *rurſus in cuniculos mergitur, & poſt XXV. mill. paſſ. circa* Nymphæum *redditur*: which as *Strabo*, *Dionyſius* and others teſtifie, ſo the former Poet hath expreſſed not unelegantly.

Sed Tigris, *nigro tanquam indignatus averno,*
Proſilit æthereas motu majore ſub auras;

Et

Et rurſus ſpelæa ſubit, merſúſque cavernis
Intus agit fremitus; & fortior obice factus
Multiplicatur aquis, atróque citatior antro
Exit, & Aſſyrios celeri ſecat agmine campos.

But becauſe in the fore-mentioned place of *Lucan*, that remarkable unmixed mixture of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (or, as *Pliny* calleth it, *Arſanias*) is by the Series of the Poet's diſcourſe intimated to have happened betwixt their common Spring and the laſt Fall of *Tigris*, for ſo it immediately follows,

At Tigrim *ſubito tellus abſorbet hiatu,*
Occultóſque tegit curſus, rurſúſque renatum
Fonte novo flumẽ pelagi non abnegat undis:

we muſt underſtand that of *Pliny*, concerning the running of *Tigris* under ground for the ſpace of 25 miles, beginning as ſoon as he comes forth of the *Thoſpian* Lake, (as *Strabo* alſo teſtifies) not of a total diſappearing of the River, but an interruption of its Stream, ſo that it kept not a conſtant courſe, but was up and down, and manifeſted it ſelf by Effuſions (as it were by ſtealth) rather then a perpetually-viſible Current. And ſo much (I think) *Ethicas*

means.

means. *Fluvius* Tigris *etiam ipſe de Monte* Caucaſo *quaſi viſitur natus, cùm æſtivis temporibus ſub humo eum deſuper* Æthiopiam *currere ex viriditate ſuperni cæſpitis prodatur, fluvius ſubditus latenter erumpit, & ob hoc ortus ejus non comprehenditur, quoniam de obſcuritate promitur.* And this may probably paſs for a reaſon in Nature, why, after their Confluence, the waters of *Arſanias* float over thoſe of *Tigris*, becauſe they are not ſo well cleanſed from the nitrous and oily matter they had contracted in the *Thoſpian* Lake, as thoſe of *Tigris* (by courſing under ground) were. However this be, it hindreth us nothing from the thing we aimed at, viz. a ſight of that Fountain we have been in ſearch of; for now it appears to be in *Armenia major*, in the Region of *Sophene*, on the South-ſide of the Mountain of *Taurus*, in a moſt pleaſant and delicious place; in a word, in the very place where *Ptolemy* places the Fountains of *Tigris*, (and conſequently of *Euphrates*) in the Latitude of 39°. 40'.

Hæc domus, hæc ſedes, hæc ſunt penetralia magni
Amnis——

Nor can I foreſee what ſcruple of moment can

can be oppoſed againſt this whole diſcourſe, except haply ſome be not yet ſatisfied, that *Pliny*'s *Arſanias* is the ſame with *Moſes*'s *Euphrates*: who notwithſtanding (I hope) will ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded; if they conſider, 1. That it is ſo common for Rivers to change their names, eſpecially for ancient Rivers to receive new names, that to contend about the name, when the thing it ſelf is evident, is but an humorous vanity. 2. Though *Pliny* call it *Arſanias*, yet *Lucan*, *Marius Victor*, &c. call it *Euphrates*, as *Moſes* doth. 3. *Pliny* denieth the right of this name to the great River it ſelf, till, having broken through the Mount *Taurus*, it enters *Syria*; whereby a liberty is granted to this River to plead its birthright to this name, as well as to any other that, running through *Armenia* or *Meſopotamia*, flow together to make up its Chanel. *Plin. l. 5. c. 24. Supra* Simyram *XII. M. paſſ. initio* Pyxirates *nominatus. Fluit* Derxenem *primùm*, &c. *Deinde* Elegiam Armeniæ *decem M. paſſ. acceptis fluminibus* Lyco, Arſania, Arſano. *Apud* Elegiam *occurrit ei* Taurus *Mons*, *nec reſiſtit*, *quanquam XII. M. paſſ. prævalens.* Omiram *vocant irrumpentem*; *mox*, *ubi perfregit*, Euphratem. The like is obſerved

ved by *Æthicus*. *Fluvius* Auxius *naſcitur de Monte* Armeno; *tranſiens per* Meſopotamiam *pergit: in ea verò Provincia alius ei adjungitur fluvius* Pactolus, *qui dicitur ex ipſo Monte* Caucaſo *naſci*; *& unum effecti, per* Parthos *tranſeuntes eorum curſus congregant aquas: ibi flumen* Euphrates *nomen accipit, & exinde ſe diffundens currit millia* 872, *& mergitur in Sinum Perſicum*. Here is plainly affirmed that *Euphrates* takes not that name till the Conjunction of theſe Rivers; whereof if *Pactolus* were *Pyxirates*, and *Auxius Araxes* or *Arſanias*, (as with good probability we may conjecture) then have we another argument to prove that this River was anciently taken for *Euphrates*; for ſo S. *Ambroſe* tells us, that the Learned men of thoſe parts uſed to call it *Auxes*. *Amb. De Paradiſo, c. 3. Plerique* Euphratem ἀπὸ τῆς εὐφραίνεσθαι *dictum putant, hoc eſt*, à lætando. *Cauſa autem cur cæteri quâ commeant fluvii, deſcribuntur regiones locorum, quâ* Euphrates *commeat, non deſcribatur, illam accipimus, quia aqua ejus vitalis aſſeritur, & quæ foveat atque augeat. Unde* Auxen *eum* Hebræorum *&* Aſſyriorum *prudentes dixerunt*. Yea, *Pliny* himſelf (if we be not deceived) gives his verdict

for this name: for how otherwiſe to reconcile him with *Ptolemy*, and the truth of Geography, we ſee not. *Lib. 6. cap. 9.* numbring the moſt remarkable Cities of *Armenia*, he writes thus: *Oppida celebrantur in minore*, Cæſarea, Aza, Nicopolis: *in majore*, Arſamote Euphrati *proximum*, Tigri Carcathiocerta. Now if *Arſamote* (which without doubt was the ſame that *Ptolemy* calls *Arſamoſata*) were as near *Euphrates* as *Carcathiocerta* was to *Tigris*, it was ſeated upon the very banks of it: But in *Ptolemy* it is ſet well-nigh two Degrees diſtant; which make up ſo large a ſumme of miles, that for my part I believe this is an errour in *Ptolemy*, and credit rather that exacter Writer *Geog. Nub.* who ſets them about 24 miles diſtant. For he, (*Part. 5. clim. 5.*) deſcribing the way betwixt *Meledin* (in *Armenia minor*) to *Majafarecqin* (in *Armenia major*,) tells us, that when we come to *Alhama*, which is oppoſite to the Town of *Malattia* on the South, (the ſame Town that *Ptolemy* calls *Melitene*, ſituate at or near upon that long Stream which Geographers uſually call *Euphrates*) from thence there are 12 miles to *Tal-Batric*, and other 12 to *Tal-Areſias*. Now *Tal-Areſias* is the very ſame that *Pliny* calls

calls *Arſamote*, *Ptolemy Arſamoſata*, for the ſignification in them both רר-שמרא and תל-חרם is neither more nor leſs then *Collis* or *Mons Solis*: and if we would know where that was ſituate, he tells us; *Facet autem* Areſias *ad magnum quoddam flumen, quod è montibus excurrens, tandem* Euphrati *ſe miſcet infra* Samoſata. Which agrees ſo well with the deſcription that *Pliny* maketh of *Arſanias*, that we need not doubt but that was the ſame River which ran by this City. Whereunto if we adde the report that *Dion* and *Tacitus* make, of *Pætus* his making a Bridge over this River, (when he made that cowardly Compoſition with the *Parthian*) there will remain no farther cauſe of queſtioning: for *Dion* expreſly calls it *Arſanias*. Ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, προδιομολογησάμενος, ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ Ἀρσανίαν ζεύξωσι, Parthus *dimiſit* Pætum, *priùs cum eo pactus, ut ponte ſibi jungeret fluvium* Arſaniam. But *Tacitus* calls it *Arſametes*, *Annal. l.* 15. *Fluvio* Arſameti *(is caſtra præfluebat) pontem impoſuit*: which hath ſo near affinity with the Citie's name, *Arſamote*, that (though *Lipſius* think it corrupted in *Tacitus*, and to be amended by *Dion*) we may well conjecture, that the City and River gave or took their name

one from the other, or elſe from ſome other cauſe common to them both. However, if *Arſamote* were placed near upon *Euphrates*, (as *Pliny* hath told us) and yet that River be evidenced by clear proof to be the ſame that himſelf elſewhere calls *Arſanias*, it will follow by his own confeſſion that *Arſanias* was *Euphrates*; which is moſt true, for it was its primitive and original Stream, as *Moſes* aſſures us.

CHAP. IX.

Of the firſt Diviſion of the River Tigris *after its Separation from* Euphrates, *and the various Names given to one Branch of it by ſeveral Authors.*

AND now having (by God's aſſiſtance) waded through the chiefeſt difficulty, and diſcovered the *Fountain* of the *River of Paradiſe*, and two of its main *Heads*; we may (I hope) with more encouragement proceed to the inquiry of the reſt; if onely we ſhall admoniſh this, That from henceforward *Euphrates* (which the *Jews*, ſubtracting the Article, call *Perath*, or (as *Joſephus* hath it) *Phorath*, the Inhabitants of

of those parts sometimes *Furro*, but for the most part *Frat)* constantly holds this name all its Course throughout: But whether *Tigris* (as yet) may challenge the name of *Hiddekel*, will better appear in this ensuing Discourse. Nevertheless we make choice of his Stream to follow as our Guide in this Search, as having formerly found, upon examination, the Streams of *Euphrates* altogether unable to abide the trial. And it is not long that *Tigris* hath run after its Separation from *Euphrates*, and last rise from its new Fountain, before it come to a second Division: for having past the *Gordiæan Mountains*, and being now about to enter *Assyria*, it parts its Stream asunder, and openeth its arms (as I may so say) to embrace it. Thus much I gather from *Epiphanius in Anchoret. n.* 58. Τρίτος, φησὶ, ποταμὸς Τίγρης, πορευόμενος ὁ κατέναντι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων. Διατέμνει γὰρ τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀνατολῆς, καὶ δύνει ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀνίσχει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, κατὰ μέσον Καρδιέων καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἀναπηγάζει πάλιν, καὶ ἀνατέμνεται εἰς τὴν Ἀσσυρίων γῆν, *Tertius, inquit, fluvius est* Tigris, *qui è regione* Assyriorum *fluit: Quippe Orientis tractus dividens, sub terram demergitur. Qui cùm ex* Armenia *inter* Cardiæos & Armenios *oriatur,*

depreſſus iterum emergit, & Aſſyriorum agros diviſus irrigat. *Ptolemy* indeed takes no notice of this Diviſion in the Hiſtorical part of his Geography, (which will be no wonder to thoſe that know how many ſuch like omiſſions may be obſerved in him;) yet (if I be not deceived) there is ſomething in his Tables that referrs this way: I mean his ancient Tables; for thoſe ſet out by *Gerard Mercator*, promiſing correction, are herein faulty. In the ancient Editions of *Jacob. Eſzlar*, and *Georg. Ubelin*, and *Maginus Aſiæ Tab.* 3. (which contains the Map of *Armenia major*, with ſome other of thoſe Regions that lay to the North of it) two Streams of *Tigris* are fairly drawn, (not far from its Fountain) the one running Weſtward towards *Armenia minor*, the other Eaſtward on the back of the Mountain *Niphates*, which bounds *Aſſyria* to the North. Indeed, if *Ptolemy* had intimated any ſuch thing, theſe might have been taken for Rivers running into it: but ſeeing he doth not, we take leave (upon the grounds already, and farther to be diſcovered) to aſſign the Weſtern Branch to *Arſanias* running into *Euphrates*, and the Eaſtern to this new Diviſion of *Tigris* intimated by *Epiphanius*.

If

If any wonder why their Courſe is not drawn out to the length, the ſtreightning bounds of the Map (which was to end with the South-bounds of *Armenia*) may be rendred as a good reaſon of this *Eclipſis*; and being thus cut off, (as it ſeems) they became neglected in the following Maps. However, that there was ſuch a Branch of *Tigris* running to the North of *Aſſyria* or *Adiabene*, we have *Pliny* for a ſufficient witneſs: for thus he ſtates the Bounds of *Adiabene, l. 6. c. 9.* Adiabenen Tigris *& Montium ſinus cingunt:* (or, as ſome reade it, *Montium ſinus invii cingunt*) which that it is to be underſtood in relation to *Armenia*, the circumſtances of the place evidently prove: and if any doubt ſhould be moved of it, that other paſſage of his in the ſame Book, *cap.* 15. makes it clear. Adiabenis *connectuntur* Carduchi *quondam dicti, nunc* Cordueni, *præfluente* Tigri. Which is alſo atteſted by *D. Marius Niger, Geog. Aſiæ, Com.* 5. *Juxta* Caduſiorum *regionem* Corduci *ſunt, qui quondam ſic appellabantur, nunc verò* Cordueni, *qui* Adiabenis *connectuntur, medio elabente* Tigri. But never did any Author mention the *Carduchi* to the Weſt or South of *Tigris*, but generally all to the

North, in the Mountains of *Anti-Taurus* aſſigned to *Armenia* and *Media*, betwixt which and the Mountain *Niphates* the Valley lay in which this River ran. And this ſame River ſtill holding on its Courſe, I take to be it which *Joſephus* mentioneth, (but nameth not) as parting betwixt *Adiabene* and *Media*, *Antiq. Jud. l.* 20. *c.* 2. *Cúmque* Parthus *numeroſas equitum atque peditum ſecum properè trahens copias opinione citiùs veniſſet, poſuiſſétque caſtra ad fluvium qui* Adiabenem *à* Media *dirimit*, Izates *quoque non longè indè caſtra metatus eſt, &c.* And may we not well conjecture this to be one of thoſe three Rivers which *Herodotus* mentioneth under the name of *Tigris*? For though he deny the firſt and third to ſpring out of the ſame Fountain, yet he ſaith nothing to the contrary but the firſt and ſecond might. *Terpſic. l.* 5. *n.* 52. But certain it is, that without the help of this River we ſhall never underſtand aright the hiſtory of young *Tobit*'s journey into *Media*, who parting from his Father at *Ninive*, (which by the greateſt part of Geographers is placed upon the banks of that other well-known Stream of *Tigris*) yet Chap. 6. 1. it is ſaid, that *as they went on their journey, they came in the Evening*

to

to the River Tigris, *and they lodged there.* This cannot be underſtood of any gyre or circle of the ſame Stream, (as ſome imagine) for no ſuch lay in their way to *Ecbatane*; but it was a diſtinct Stream by it ſelf, and ſeparated from that other at a conſiderable diſtance. Nor will any ingenuous man think it ſufficient to elude this Teſtimony, becauſe this Author is Apocryphall; for though the Book be not Canonical, yet this Teſtimony may be true: and none (I think) will deny it to be ſo, that hath attentively read the Relation that *Xenophon* makes of the *Grecian* Armie's march in theſe parts. For having told us (*De exped. Cyri l. 3.*) how they paſſed over *Tigris* into *Aſſyria* at a Town called *Cænæ*; he farther relates how they ſtill paſſed on Eaſtward over the Rivers *Zabatus* and *Zathes*; (which Mr. *Fuller* ſufficiently proves to be the ſame that *Ptolemy* calls *Lycus* and *Caprus*) then having paſſed another Torrent, (which he names not, and therefore gives us leave to conjecture that it was that ſmall Rivolet which *Ptolemy* calls *Gorgas*) *Quod reliquum diei erat ſecurè pergendo cùm confeciſſent,* (ſaith he) *ad* Tigrim *amnem perveniunt:* (lo here *another Tigris*) which having paſſed at a Town called *Lariſſa*, after another

ther daies march of ſix paraſangs, they came to an ancient Town of the *Medes* called *Meſphila*; where turning their faces towards the North, they made towards the Mountains of the *Carduchi*, having this Stream all along on their left hand, even to its very ſpring; as appeareth by the end of the third and beginning of the fourth Book. Which Relation brings this Stream of *Tigris* about the ancient *Aſſyria* with ſo large a circle, that it might ſerve to preſent it to us in the form of an Iſland. And indeed it was ſo; for it was ſo ſhut in with Rivers on all ſides, that there was no paſſage into it but by Boat. Whence it was that the *Greeks* fetched the reaſon of the name *Adiabene*, as if it were ſo called ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβαίνειν, *eò quòd eſſet impertranſibilis*; which though *Ammianus* juſtly reject, (for it is abſurd to frame a *Greek* Etymologie of an *Aſſyrian* word;) yet the reaſon rendered for it he denieth not, but confirmeth, *Hiſt. l.* 23. *Juxta hunc circuitum* Adiabena *eſt*, Aſſyria *priſcis temporibus vocitata, longâque aſſuetudine ad hoc tranſlata vocabulum eâre, quòd inter* Oenam *&* Tigridem *ſita, navigeros fluvios, adiri vado nunquam potuit.* And this without all queſtion was the reaſon why that ancient Hiſtorian *Quadratus*

dratus called *Assyria* or *Adiabene* by the name of *Messene*, (as he is quoted by *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ. *voce* μέση & μεσσ.) *utpote* ὑπὸ τῶν δύο ποταμῶν αὐτοῦ μεσαζομένην, *quia medium inter duo quæ ibidem sunt flumina regionem occuparet*. These Rivers he after nameth *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for which he incurreth the reprehension of divers, who cannot see what *Euphrates* hath to doe with *Assyria*: But if they would consider how customary it is with the Writers of these parts, mutually to commute the names of these great Rivers, and many times to apply them to other Rivers which have proper names of their own, they would not reject this ancient Author's Testimony, but accept it as a piece of true Geography. We have formerly noted how *Xenophon* calls *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris*, and other Authors (to requite that wrong) call *Tigris* by the name of *Euphrates*. *Hesych. in voce* Τίγρης: Τίγρης, ποταμὸς Περσῶν· καὶ ὁ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοῖζος· καὶ ζῶον. παρὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίοις Φοράδη, (*lege* Φοράθ) παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι Τίγρις. He makes *Tigris* to be the same which the *Jews* call *Phorath*, which we all know to be *Euphrates*. And the like doth *Diodorus Siculus*, *Antiq. l. 3. c. 1.* where speaking of the foundation of *Ninive* by *Ninus*, he saith,

ſaith, *Ipſe coactis undique viribus, & his quæ ad tantum opus ſpectarent paratis,* ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, *ſupra* Euphratem *fluvium Urbem condidit:* which almoſt all beſides him place upon *Tigris.* Now if *Quadratus* (and after him *Stephanus*) may be conceived, and might be allowed to ſpeak according to the language of theſe men; ſuppoſing the Weſtern Stream to be that which he calleth *Euphrates*, the other which encircleth *Aſſyria* he might call (as divers others do as well as he) by the name of *Tigris*; and ſo his expreſſion ſhall become as excuſable, as the thing it ſelf which he affirms is true. But *Ammianus* (a man much converſant in theſe parts) hath acquainted us more exactly with the true and proper names of theſe Rivers, (learn'd (as may ſeem) from the Natives themſelves) and therewithall, of the true *Etymologie* of the name *Adiabene*, *Hiſt. l.* 23. *Nos autem didicimus, quòd in his terris amnes ſunt duo perpetui, quos & tranſivimus,* Diavas & Adiavas, *junctis navalibus pontibus. Ideóque intelligi* Adiabenem *cognominatam, ut à fluminibus maximis* Ægyptus, Homero *authore, &c.* The names of theſe two Rivers are one and the ſame in their Radix, and differ no more then the ſame word with

and

and without an Article. Mr. *Fuller* takes them to be thoſe which we have heard *Xenophon* call Ζάβατον and Ζάθλω, the Letters *D* and *Z* being ſo near of ſound, that eaſily they may be (and uſually are) tranſmuted. Beſides זאב in the *Chaldee* and דיאב in the *Arabick* ſignifie the ſame thing, even that by which *Ptolemy* hath expreſſed the Rivers name in *Greek*, and that is Λύκος. This is both learned and probable; but whether it will ſatisfie *Ammianus*, I cannot tell: for I obſerve that whereſoever he hath occaſion to mention the River *Lycus*, he never calleth it *Diavas* or *Adiavas*, but alwaies *Anzaba*: and accordingly *Geog. Nub. part. 6. clim. 5.* calls it *Zeb major*, (as he doth the other *Zeb minor.*) Which if it may be accounted ſufficient to argue theſe to be different Rivers in the opinion of *Ammianus*, I ſhould crave leave to conjecture, that theſe Rivers *Diavas* and *Adiavas* (as the Natives called them in *Ammianus*'s time) were the ſame with the fore-mentioned encircling Rivers, which (as himſelf a little before hath told us) were anciently called *Tigris* and *Oena*. What that *Oena* was we forbear to enquire at preſent, as purſuing ſome farther notice of *Diavas* and *Adiavas*; whoſe

whoſe Radix if we ſearch, we cannot (I think) more probably fetch it elſewhere then from the *Chaldee* word דהב, or ἐμφατικῶς דהבא, which is the ſame with זהב, and accordingly rendered, viz. *Aurum*; as *Dan.* 2. 32, 38. So that applied to the River it will make it as much as *Flumen aureum*, or, as the *Greeks* would expreſs it, Χρυσορρόας. Of which name I find a River in theſe parts, mentioned by *Æthicus*, ſo nearly reſembling this we ſpeak of, that for my part I doubt not but they were the ſame. His words are theſe: *Fluvius* Chryſorrhoas *naſcitur in campis* Aſſyriis *de Monte* Caucaſo, *vicinatur & ei* Tigris *fluvius*. *Fluvius* Tigris *etiam ipſe de Monte* Caucaſo *quaſi viſitur natus, cùm æſtivis temporibus ſub humo eum deſuper* Æthiopiam *currere ex viriditate ſuperni ceſpitis prodatur; fluvius ſubditus latenter erumpit, & ob hoc ortus ejus non comprehenditur, quoniam de obſcuritate promitur: nam ambo includunt* Cordubennam *oppidum, & ad unum redacti, magnam faciunt coronam, & etiam alia Oppida includunt, &* Theſiphon *&* Seleuciam *currentes millia* 882. *immerguntur ad* Auge *oppidum, quod eſt in Sinu* Perſico. Not to engage my ſelf, to juſtifie every particular in this piece of Geography, thus much (at leaſt)

leaſt) may be clearly gathered from it, That this River falling into the River *Tigris*, and with it including the *Metropolis* of the *Gordiæans*, (which it ſeems ſtood in a little Iſland) after their running ſome while together in a conjoyned Chanel, this united Stream ſeparateth it ſelf again into two, ſo as with its encirclings it encompaſſeth a large ſpace of ground: Which is ſo conſonant to the former relations, that we need not doubt they all referre to the ſame truth, though under different names: for the name of *Tigris* was more famous, and better known to Strangers; but this of *Diavas* or *Adiavas* became ſo grateful to the Natives, that with it they baptized both theſe Streams; for I find the Weſtern Branch called *Zaba*, which is indeed but the contract of *Zahaba*, (of זהב *aurum*, not זאב *lupus*) and ſo in the *Chaldee* Tongue was pronounced *Dihaba*, or *Diavas*. *Paulus Diaconus* relating the Expedition of *Heraclius* the Emperour againſt the *Perſian*, writes thus: *Kalendis Decem. venit ad fluvium magnum* Zabam: *& cùm hunc tranſiſſet, caſtrametatus eſt juxta* Niniven. Now, whereſoever the ancient *Ninive* were ſeated, certain it is that that Town which went under that name in the time of *Heraclius* was

was ſituate either upon or very near the banks of *Tigris:* for oppoſite to the Ruines of it was *Moſal* built in *Meſopotamia*, the River onely parting betwixt them, and that alſo joyned by a Bridge. *Benjamin in Itinerario, pag. 62. Edit. Elzivir. Iſta Civitas,* (ſc. Al-mozal) *jam indè à diebus priſcis maxima,* Perſidis *initium eſt, ad* Tigrin *flumen ſita: inter quam &* Niniven *Pons tantùm intercedit. Hæc devaſtata eſt: attamen multos pagos & arces habet. A* Ninive Arbeelem *uſque una eſt paraſanga.* Ninive *autem* Tigridis *ripæ imminet.* The like hath *Geog. Nub. Part. 6. clim. 4.* Mauſel *eſt Urbs ad occidentalem* Tigris *partem exſtructa, habétque territoria ampla, & provincias magnas, ac præ cæteris territorium* Lino (*i.e.* Nini) *Urbis vetuſtiſſimæ, ſitæ ab orientali latere* Tigris, *è regione* Mauſel. And for the upper Stream of this River, that that alſo was called by the Natives *Diavas* or *Adiavas*, we have the Teſtimony of *Moſes Bar-cephas*, a Learned man, born and living about theſe parts, who in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* divers times makes mention of this River, (for ſo I fear not to affirm) ſometimes calling it *Dijobis*, and otherwhile *Dijabis*, as *cap.* 21, and 28. Whereupon though the Learned

Learned *Maſius* forbears to paſs his Conjecture, yet others have not feared to call it *Danubius*. Which they might eaſily doe by the *Epentheſis* of a letter, and yet not vary from the true ſignification of the word. For the *Arabian* City *Dizahab*, mentioned *Deut.* 1. 1. (which comes of the ſame Root with this, and is accordingly rendered by the *Septuagint* τὰ χαταχρύσια, from the Gold-mines that were found about it)is by ſome rendered *Denaba*. Which name *Dizaba* (which is near of ſound to *Dijabis)* being applied to this River, and the Article הו prefixed unto it, (which is uſual with the Eaſtern Nations to doe to the names of Rivers, as הוא חדקל, הו פרת *Dan.* 10. 4.) it will become *Hudizaba*, or *Hudizabis*, which might ſo eaſily be changed into *Hydaſpis* in a Weſtern man's mouth, that if any be found to call it ſo, their errour is as pardonable (while their grounds are ſo good) as we take that of *Caſarius* the brother of *Nazianzen* to be, who in his Dialogues makes *Danubius* one of the Rivers of *Paradiſe*, upon the former miſtake. A conſiderable Truth in our opinion, howſoever others (who had never heard of another River pretending any affinity to this name, but that famous one

in *Germany*) have proposed it to be derided as an idle Conceit. Now for Authority to prove that this River hath sometimes passed under the name of *Hydaspis*, we may produce that of *Virgil*, *Georg. l.* 4.

Præterea Regem non sic Ægyptus, *& ingens* Lydia, *nec populi* Parthorum, *aut* Medus Hydaspes
Observant——

It is strange to see how Commentators are troubled to find what this *Medus Hydaspes* should be; for they tell us they never read of any River of that name in *Media*, but onely in *India*: and therefore some are bold with the Verse, and, pretending to correct it, make it much worse; for they would have it read, *Medus, Hydaspêsve*; and so it should become *Versus hypermeter*. Others are of opinion that it took this Epithete, because the *Medes* under *Alexander* overcame the *Indians*. *Junius Philargyrus in loc. Apud omnes satis constat* Hydaspem *flumen* Indiæ *esse, non* Mediæ; *sed potest videri Poeta* Hydaspem Medum *dixisse jure belli, quòd* Medi *duce* Alexandro *vicerint* Porum Indorum *Regem, & in suam redegerint potestatem*. A vain and frivolous reason, without all warrant or proba-

probability; for so the Poet should rather have called it *Græcus Hydaspes*. But if the ground of *Virgil*'s calling this River so (which indeed ran by *Media*) did not come to their observation, they might have been awakened to the enquiry of another *Hydaspes*, by that which *Plutarch* writes of this River; though it be usual with that Author (whosoever he was) to conjoyn, or rather confound, divers Rivers far distant, but going under the same Name, into the same Description. *Lib. De Flu. c.* 1. writing of *Hydaspes*, he tells us, Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδίας, νεανικῶς καταφερόμενος εἰς τὴν Σαρωνιτικὴν Σύρτιν, Indiæ *autem fluvius est, vehementiùs influens in Syrtem* Saroniticam. Here again *Maussacus* falls foul upon his Author, and tells us in plain terms, *Fabula hæc est, & gratum mendacium, sed non ferendum*: and all because he had never read of a *Syrtis Saronitica*, or *Sinus Saronicus*, but in the Bay of *Corinth*. But haply we may find a more probable place for it, when we have resumed the consideration of that which *Æthicus* formerly related of the Out-let of the River *Chrysorrhoas*, (which was the same;) for he saith, it emptied it self into the *Persian* Gulf *ad* Auge *oppidum*, which himself had cal-

This same River *Hydaspes* is that which is mentioned also in the Book of *Judith*, Chap. 1. v. 6. as appeareth by the Context.

led before *Aniſauge:* which Town we may in vain ſeek for in *Ptolemy*, or any other Geographer, for it is indeed a mere ὄνειρον πρόπεσον, (no great wonder in *Æthicus*) and ought to be read *Augeanis*, or rather (which was the true name of it) *Aginis*; for ſo *Arrianus*, *libro Rerum Indic.* calls that Town where this River emptieth it ſelf into the *Perſian* Lake. *A Lacu ad ipſum flumen navigatio eſt ſtadiorum DC. Ibi & pagus quidam* Suſiorum *eſt, quem* Aginim *vocant. Is à* Suſis *diſtat ſtadiis quingentis.* About which diſtance *Ptolemy* placeth a City in theſe parts called *Saura*, which to have been a City of ſome note appeareth by this, that the name of it is tranſmitted to theſe times; for in our Modern Maps mention is made of it, as alſo in *Geog. Nub.* who calls it ſometime (after the old name) *Saura*, ſometimes (by a new one, as it ſeems) *Daurac*, and ſets it near the *Perſian* Gulf, or at leaſt a Bay ſhooting it ſelf up into the Land, which firſt received this River, and might well receive from it the name of *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Syrtis Saronitica*; it being uſual with Bays to receive their names from ſome near-adjoyning remarkable City.

In our modern Maps it is called *Angua*, though a little miſplaced.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A farther Proſecution of the ſame Argument, and this Stream found at laſt (ſutably to Moſes's *Deſcription) to be* Gihon.

AND now the knot is untied, and both the Head and Out-let of this River is diſcovered, between which ſo large a ſpace of ground is interpoſed, that we may well imagine that in ſo long a Courſe it receiveth other waters into it beſides thoſe of its own Chanel. And ſo indeed it doth; for it taketh in the River *Choaſpes* out of *Media*, alſo *Eulæus*, and out of *Suſiana* another Branch of *Tigris*, of which we ſhall ſpeak afterwards. And thus much *Strabo* hath obſerved out of *Polycletus*, who affirmed, Choaſpem, & Eulæum, & Tigrim *in Lacum quendam confluere, atque ex eo indè in Mare exire*; yet ſo, as both they, and all other Rivers which they take into them, firſt meet together in one conjoyned Chanel, which carrieth the name of *Tigris*; for ſo he immediately notes that other had affirmed: *Sunt qui affirment flumina omnia quæ* Suſiam *pervadunt*, εἰς ἓν ῥεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Τί-

χριος συμπίπτειν, *in unum* Tigridis *alveum illabi*. And hence proceeded that difference among Authors, some ascribing that to one of these Rivers which others ascribe unto another: as, (*Ex. gr.*) that high esteem which the *Persian* Kings made of the waters of *Choaspes* is by some ascribed to *Eulæus*, by others to *Danubius*; for so *Giraldus*, and out of him *Ortelius*, *Tab. Daciæ & Mœsiæ*, hath observed, *Babylonios Reges ex* Danubio (*sive* Istro) *aquas inter gazas reposuisse*; *De Diis Syntag.* 17. Which is a remarkable passage, and gives us full assurance of the Course of this River as we have described it. For this *Danubius* was not *Ister*, (as they falsly imagine) but the same formerly spoken of, which others have called *Diavas*, *Dijabis*, *Adiavas*, and (*Virgil* and *Plutarch*) *Hydaspis*. But if any haply doubt whether *Plutarch*'s *Hydaspis* were the same with this, because he saith it was *fluvius Indiæ*; they are to note, that the name of *India* is given by good Authors to divers other Countries besides that famous one vulgarly known by this name in the *East*: for (to omit examples not so nearly relating to our purpose) the Regions of *Assyria* and *Susiana* are (if I mistake not) by the Writers of the Empe-

Ælian. Hist. var. l. 12. c. 40. Plin. l. 6. c. 27. p. 263.

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rour *Trajan*'s Life called *India. Eutrop. Breviar. l.* 8. relating his Conqueſt of thoſe parts, ſets it down thus: Seleuciam & Cteſiphontem, Babylonem & Edeſſios *vicit ac tenuit uſque ad* Indiæ *fines*, & *Mare Rubrum acceſſit : atque ibi tres Provincias fecit*, Armeniam, Aſſyriam, Meſopotamiam, *cum his gentibus quæ* Macedenam *attingunt*. But none ever affirmed that *Trajan* conquered the *Eaſt-Indies*. For though, in emulation of *Alexander*, he rigg'd a Navy in the *Perſian Gulf*, (which *Eutrop.* (with others) calls *Mare rubrum*) with a purpoſe to aſſault thoſe parts; yet it doth not appear that ever he landed his Army there, having received intelligence, while he was yet in his Voiage, that theſe Countries had revolted; which made him ſpeedily return to ſettle thoſe parts, as accordingly he did, and after reduced them into the form of Provinces, as *Dion*, *Caſſiodorus*, &c. teſtifie with *Eutropius*. Or if this Teſtimony be not ſufficient, we have another beyond all exception, and that is the Teſtimony of *Nicephorus*, who confidently calls *Adiabene* an *Indian Region*. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l.* 9. *c.* 18. Adiabene *verò Regio eſt* Indica *ampla & celebris*. And hence *Theophilus* (a famous man born

in this Countrey, and while he was but yet a youth ſent Hoſtage by the *Adiabenians* to the Emperour *Conſtantine*, and by him ſent back again as his Embaſſadour into thoſe Eaſtern Countries, where he converted many to the Chriſtian Faith) was by the men of that age uſually ſurnamed *Theophilus Indus. Id. ibid.* And for the ſame reaſon (I think) it was that this ſame River alſo got the ſurname of *Indus*: for ſo *Plutarch* alſo (though he give another fabulous reaſon of this Name, yet) plainly teſtifies that it was called *Indus*; *loc. citat.* Which is another great ſtumbling-block in his *Commentator*'s way, and is not indeed eaſily to be removed but by the help of this obſervation. Aſſuredly they that fetched the Spring of the River *Indus* out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, could mean no other River but this; and that ſome have done this appears by the Teſtimony of *Sabellicus*, *Ennead. l.* 1. who accordingly affirms it; *Indus in* Armeniæ *montibus oritur*. And we have farther aſſurance that this was the River, by the Teſtimony of *Dionyſius Periegetes*, who mentioneth a River under this name running into *Choaſpes*, (or rather taking in the Stream of *Choaſpes* into its Chanel) and with it watering the whole

Region

Region of *Suſiana*. Theſe are his words *in Periegeſi*,

——χωρὶς ὃ Χόασπις
Ἕλλων' Ινδὸν ὕδωρ, πρὰ τρεῖων χθόνα Σύρων.

Simul ad ortum Solis cunctæ gentes, concuſſæ bello, quæ inter Indum & Euphratem amnes inclytos ſunt; atque imperati Obſides Perſarum Regi nomine Coſdroe. Sex. Aur. Victor, in vita Trajani.

And may we not well ſuppoſe that this was the remaining Stream of that famous River *Gyndes*, which *Cyrus* in his march from *Perſia* towards *Babylon* cut into ſo many pieces, becauſe it had drowned one of his beloved white Horſes that drew in his Chariot, as it is related by *Herodotus l.* 1. *n.* 189, 190. and after him by *Seneca De Ira, l.* 3. *c.* 21? Truely the circumſtances of the Story agree ſo well to this River, (beſides the affinity of the Names) that if it were not this, we cannot well imagine where to find it. Indeed it might move ſome ſcruple, that *Herodotus* finds the Spring of this River in *Matiana*, if we had not obſerved how confuſed and large the notion of *Matiana* is in his Geography; ſo as it may well be extended even to that place where we alſo believe the Fountain of this River to be. Beſides, it is no unuſual thing with *Herodotus* to be overtaken with that vulgar Errour, which we have obſerved to be common to him with others, to miſtake adventitious In-lets for the native and original Streams of Rivers. But *Stephanus* ſpeaks

full

full as much to our purpoſe as we deſire: for he (whence-ſoever he had it) going about to relate the famed ſtory of *Gyndes*, (*in voce Gyndes*) prefaceth it with ſuch a Deſcription of the River as ſets it right with our Obſervation; for thus he writes: Gyndes, Aſſyriorum *fluvius maximus ſecundùm* Euphratem. *Is cùm* Cyri *impetum*, &c. Whether or no this River were as great as he makes it, (as like enough it might be) yet undoubtedly, if it were a River of *Aſſyria*, it could be no other then this that we have deſcribed. Others again have called this River *Cydnus*, and it appears to be the ſame by the Courſe that it runs, and Fall in like manner into the River *Choaſpes*, (or Reception of it rather) with whoſe conjoyned waters it croſſeth the Eaſtern borders of *Aſſyria*; yet ſo, as in the way it may ſeem to ſhed out of it a little Stream, which falls into that branch of *Tigris*, that after we ſhall ſpeak of, not far from the Rivers *Lycus* and *Caprus*: the like whereto being related by *Pliny* and others of the Fall of *Choaſpes* in like manner into *Tigris*, it might well enough be the ſame, theſe two Rivers having before conjoyned their waters. And the obſervation of this is uſeful, to reconcile ſome differences to be found

found in Hiſtorians in relating the Battel at *Arbela*. For *Q. Curtius l.* 4. ſaith, that when *Darius*, being put to flight, was glad to ſhift for himſelf, *Paucis fugæ comitibus, ad* Lycum *amnem contenderet, quo trajecto, dubitavit an ſolveret pontem, &c. Arrianus De Expedit. Alex. l.* 4. ſeems to call it *Bumadus*, which is obſerved to be the ſame River which *Ptolemy* calls *Caprus*. But *Juſtin* plainly calls it *Cydnus*, *Hiſtor. l.* 11. *Suadentibus deinde quibuſdam, ut pons* Cydni *fluminis ad iter hoſtium impediendum intercluderetur, non ità ſaluti ſuæ velle conſultum ait, ut tot millia ſociorum hoſtibus objiciat: debere & aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit ſibi.* And from thence (no doubt) *Oroſius* took an occaſion of that groſs Errour, when, dreaming of no other *Cydnus* then that which runneth through *Cilicia* into the *Syrian* Sea, he took boldneſs to write, that the laſt Battel betwixt *Alexander* and *Darius* was at *Tarſus*; *Hiſtor. l.* 3. *c.* 17. And the like miſtake, ariſing from a like miſpriſion, occaſioned other Learned men to diſcredit another Story concerning this River, reported by an eye-witneſs out of his own knowledge. This was *Diotimus*, Embaſſadour from the State of *Athens* to the

Perſian,

Perſian, who delivered it with his own mouth to *Eratoſthenes*, from whom *Strabo* thus relates it, *Geog. l.* 1. Διότιμον ὃ τ Στρομβίχυ, πρεσβείας Ἀθηναίων ἀφηγούμενον, ἅμα τῷ Κυδνῷ ἀναπλεῦσαι ἐκ τ Κιλικίας ὅτι τ Χόασπιν ποταμὸν, ὃς παρὰ τὰ Σοῦσα ῥεῖ, καὶ ἀφικέσθαι πλοιαρχήσαντα εἰς Σοῦσα. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τ Διότιμον, Diotimum Strombichi *filium, ducem Legationis* Athenienſium, *è* Cilicia *adverſo flumine* Cydno *in* Choaſpin *fluvium navigâſſe, qui* Suſa *alluit, ac XL dierum ſpatio* Suſa *perveniſſe, idque ipſum ſibi narrâſſe* Diotimum. Though *Eratoſthenes* had no juſt cauſe to except againſt the Credit of the Relator; yet he confeſſes the Relation it ſelf ſeemed very incredible unto him, becauſe he could not conceive how *Cydnus* could poſſibly flow under *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, to fall into *Choaſpes*. But if there were not onely a double *Cydnus* (as by this may ſufficiently appear) but alſo a double *Cilicia*, (and one of them at the very place where *Diotimus* took Barge) then (I hope) this wonder will ceaſe. And that there was ſo, the Author of the Book of *Judith* may ſerve for a ſufficient witneſs: for relating the march of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Army under the conduct of *Holophernes* towards the Weſt,

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he tells us, Chap. 2. 21. that *they went forth of* Ninive *three days journey towards the Plain of* Bectileth, *and pitched from* Bectileth *near the Mountain which is at the left hand of the upper* Cilicia. It is more evident then can be denied, by the ſequel of the hiſtory, that the Mountain which is here ſaid to lie on the left hand (*i.e.* to the North) of the Region called *Cilicia*, was that part of Mount *Taurus* that bounded *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria* on that ſide; and the Plains of *Bectileth* are ſuppoſed by *Junius* to be the Plains that lay about the City *Bithias* not far from *Samoſata*. But whether that were ſo or no, (for it may well be doubted, becauſe *Bithias* lay more then three daies journey from *Ninive*) yet certain it is, that hereabouts (and nearer *Ninive*) *Ptolemy* ſets the Region *Calacine*, which *Strabo* calls *Chalachena*, and both of them might as well every whit have called it *Cilicia*, (for ſo *Pliny* calls ſome of the Inhabitants of thoſe parts *Silices*, or rather *Cilices*) which is indeed no other then that Region whither the captive *Iſraelites* were tranſlated when they were led away into *Aſſyria*, which 2 *Kings* 17. 6. is called *Chalach*, and had its denomination from the City *Chalach* built by *Nimrod*,

Gen.

Gen. 10. 11. near (as may ſeem) to the utmoſt North-weſt border of *Aſſyria*, where we have formerly found this River to make its Diviſion. And the reaſon why this *Apocryphal Author* calls this Region the *upper Cilicia* was, (in all probability) with relation to that other better known in the Weſt, that lay upon the Receſs of the *Syrian* Sea; which had (no doubt) both its name, and the reaſon of it, from the ſame *Hebrew* Root with this. And ſo it appears plainly, that howſoever this report of *Diatimus* hath hitherto paſſed for little better then a prodigious Lie, yet it is indeed a remarkable Truth, and gives us full aſſurance of the Courſe of this River in the ſame manner that we have ſet it. I might here farther adde ſomething concerning another name of this River, taken up (as ſeems) in after-times; and it is *Zirma*, *Corma*, *Somra*, and *Samura*. For *Agathias* finds it on the North of *Aſſyria* under the name of *Zirma*, *Hiſt. l.* 4. When it croſſes the Eaſt of that Region, *Tacitus* calls it *Corma*, *Annal. l.* 12. When it runneth through *Suſiana*, *Benjamin in Itiner.* calls it *Somra* and *Samura*. Which to be the ſame River with this we ſpeak of, appears by the anſwerable Courſe that it held. But having already tired my

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pen in this tedious ſearch, and come at length within view of that which was ſought after, I willingly ſuperſede from that needleſs labour. For who is there now that in thoſe corrupted names of *Cydnus*, *Indus*, and *Gyndes*, may not eaſily diſcern the miſ-ſhapen lineaments of the name *Gihon*, which *Moſes* makes one of the four Rivers of Paradiſe? And if upon this ground we take leave to ſuppoſe the name *Oena* (which *Ammianus* gives it) to have been anciently either written or pronounced *Geona*, none (I think) can juſtly challenge it for an over-bold conjecture. However, certain it is that divers of the names given to this River have been by others applied to *Gihon*. *Geog. Nub.* expreſly calls that River which others call *Cydnus* by the name of *Gihon*; as *Scaliger* alſo notes, who farther obſerves, that *Gihon* (a River running to the South of *Hieruſalem*, 2 *Chron.* 32. 30.) is alſo by an equipollent *Synonymon* called שלח *Siloach*, *Nehem.* 3. 15. which by a little corruption in after-times became Σιλωὰμ, *Fo.* 9. 7. and being put into the form *Pyhal* becomes שלח *Shullach*, *Obad.* v. 1. So near to which both in ſound and ſignification is the ancient name which *Plutarch* gives this River, that as they agreed

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in the one, it may well be ſuppoſed they agreed in the other alſo. For the moſt ancient name of *Tigris* (as he tells us) was Σόλαξ, or, as *Euſtathius* in his Comment upon *Dionyſ. Perieg.* hath it, Σύλαξ which to have continued to this upper Stream we ſpeak of, called by *Plutarch Hydaſpis* and *Indus*, appears by the ſame Authour, (*cap. de Indo*,) where he affirms it alſo to be called Μαυσωλός which is either no more then the former radical word with a מ Heemantick prefixed before; or elſe it is farther compounded of מַיִם which in compoſition as well as conſtruction becomes מֵי, and is by the *Ægyptians* (as *Joſephus*) and the *Syrians* alſo (as *Scaliger* ſaith) pronounced Μωϋ or Μαϋ, and ſignifies *Aqua*, or *Synecdochikῶs Fluvius*; ſo that Μαυσωλὸς is but *aqua*, or *fluvius Solos* or *Solax*, or rather *Sulach*: for that the true *Radix* of this word is שלח or שלך, which among other acceptions ſignifieth *Dimittere* and *Dejicere*, *Plutarch* himſelf hath put us out of doubt, who, undertaking to interpret this word, ſaith that it ſignifies καταφερής. And I doubt not but this was that River *Silus*, which, meeting with the Streams of *Eulæus*, ran together with it into the Sea. *Indè flumen* Silum *à Montibus* Perſarum *venientem*

nientem recipit, poſt in Mare-emittit. D. Mar. Niger, Geograph. Aſiæ Com. 5. Yea (that all occaſion of doubt may be taken away) the famous name of *Nilus* (which was generally believed by the Ancients to be *Gihon*) is found alſo to be given to this River: For *Joach. Vadianus* hath obſerved, that from the time of *Moſes*, even to the time of *Alexander*, *Indus* was generally believed to be *Nilus*. Upon preſumption whereof it was, that *Alexander* prepared a Navy in *Indus* with a purpoſe to paſs into *Ægypt*, as hoping by its Stream to ſail into *Nilus*; as *Strabo* teſtifies *Geog. l.* 15. But herein was his miſtake, that he ſought that before him which was behind him, not knowing (as it ſeems) that that name was intended to this River, which by good authority we have already proved to be called *Indus*. The place of *Vadianus* is in his *Appendix*, containing an explication of ſome places in his Commentaries upon *Mela*, which, becauſe it is pertinent to this purpoſe, we ſhall here deſcribe in his own words. *Sed de* Indo, *inquit*, Moſes *non meminit*. Geon *enim, ut* Auguſtin. *lib. ſuper Gen.* 8. *interpretatur*, Nilus *eſt per omnem* Æthiopiæ *terram fluens. Agnoſco equidem* Auguſtini *interpretatio-*

nem. Constat tamen à vetustissimis, usque Alexandri *&* Artaxerxis *tempora, dubitatum fuisse, diversúsne esset à* Nilo Indus, *an idem Amnis: id quod* Aristoteles *scriptum reliquit, &, libro* 15, *memoriæ prodidit gravis imprimis Author* Strabo: *ut rerum & humanarum & divinarum peritissimum* Mosen *eâ causâ* Indum *præterisse existimare debeamus, quòd populari suorum temporum historiâ in* Nili *nomine* Indum *comprehendi videret.* And (I think) *Eucherius* was of this mind, as he is quoted by *August. Steuchus Engub. Cosmopœiâ in Gen. c.* 2. Eucherius *noster, vide quàm rectè,* Phison *ait est* Ganges, *qui nunc est* Nilus. For *Ganges* with him is no other then *Gyndes*, (cut by *Cyrus*) even as it is noted in S. *Austin* also, relating that story *De Mirabilib. S. Script. l.* 2. in the Text it is called *Gyndes*, in the Margent *Ganges*; and was the same River with *Indus*; the names onely being differently pronounced by different Nations, as *Epiphanius* hath observed, *lib. De* 12 *Gemmis.* Φισὼν δέ ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἰνδὸς καλούμενος, παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις δὲ Γάγγης, Phison *autem apud Græcos* Indus, *apud Barbaros* Ganges *vocatur.* And that the name of *Nilus* should be given it, is nothing strange,

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not onely in regard of the amplitude of its ſignification, (for נהר is no more then *Torrens* or *Rivus*, and ſo may be indifferently applied to any River;) but alſo in regard of the great ſimilitude that was betwixt that in *Ægypt* and this. For as that *Nilus*, not far from *Memphis*, parting it ſelf into two main Branches, (out of which others were drawn) watered all that Countrey which from the form of the *Greek* letter is called Δέλτα: ſo this River alſo, dividing it ſelf into two Streams, watereth the whole Land of *Aſſyria*. *Sextus Rufus in Trajano*; *Provincias fecit* Armeniam, Meſopotamiam, & Aſſyriam, *quæ inter* Tigridem *atque* Euphratem *ſita irriguis amnibus inſtar* Ægypti *fœcundatur*. But above all other, the Teſtimony of *Pauſanias* is moſt remarkable, who hath delivered us an ancient Tradition of the Original of *Nilus* ſo fully conſonant to what we have delivered, that it ſelf alone may not unjuſtly be deemed ſufficient to juſtifie all or moſt that hitherto we have obſerved. The place is in *Corinthiacis, ſive lib.* 2. *Quin &* Nilum *fama eſt* Euphratem *eſſe, qui ubi Paludi immerſus diu latuerit, ſupra* Æthiopas Nilus *eruadit*. This is ſo exact a Commentary upon *Moſes*, that no Divine (which I have

read) hath afforded us a better. For here *Nilus*, (that is, in the language of the Ancients, *Gihon*, and was indeed a Stream of that River which vulgarly paſſed under the name of *Tigris*) is expreſly affirmed to be the ſame with *Euphrates*; not onely becauſe the name *Perath* was applied to it, (as hath been obſerved out of *Heſychius*) but becauſe, as *Moſes* affirms, they ſprung together out of the ſame Fountain, and for ſome ſpace ran ſo near together, that oft-times their waters touched each other; after which, ſeparating themſelves, this River dives under fenny Lakes and Mariſhes, (juſt as the fore-cited Authors write of *Tigris*) and then ſpringing up again, it takes the name of *Nilus*, (ſaith *Pauſanias*) and watereth the Land of the *Æthiopians*. Could any thing have been delivered more conſonant to the Sacred Story then this? For is not this the very Characteriſtical note by which *Moſes* deſcribes this River to us? *Gen.* 2. 13. *And the name of the ſecond River is* Gihon: *the ſame is it that compaſſeth the whole Land of* Æthiopia, ſaith our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, with the Septuagint and others. And they might well enough tranſlate כוש *Æthiopia*, it being well known and granted that

Cuſhites

Cuſhites and *Æthiopians* are the ſame. *Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *Ex quatuor* Chamæ *liberis*, Chuſo *nihil detrimenti tempus attulit.* Æthiopes *enim, quibus præfuit, nunc quoque tam à ſeipſis quàm ab* Aſianis *omnibus* Chuſæi *nominantur.*

CHAP. XI.

A Confirmation of the former Aſſertion, by proving that the Regions through which this River paſſeth were anciently called Æthiopia.

BUT if any now begin to wonder to hear of *Æthiopians* in theſe parts, (as no doubt but this with other Obſervations in this Diſcovery will ſeem ſtrange at firſt to prejudicate minds) I hope they will reſt ſatisfied when they ſhall have heard the Teſtimony of ſo many credible Authors as have affirmed it. For howſoever the name of *Æthiopia* be now in a manner appropriated to that Region of *Africk* which commonly goes under the name of the Kingdom of the *Abaſſines*, or *Preſter John*; yet the ancient *Æthiopians* were at firſt Inhabitants about this River, from whence

they passed into *Africk*, and no doubt carried their name along with them. So much is observed by S. *Augustine*, (or whoever else was the Author of that Book) *De Mirabilib. S. Script. l.* 1. where having taken notice first of that Countrey that vulgarly goes under the name of *Æthiopia*, he adds, Æthiopiam *alteram esse in multis locis Historiarum Scriptura describunt. De qua in Ecclesiastica Historia scribitur, quòd ex parte* Indiæ *adhæret. Et in Chronicis Canonicis* Eusebii *refertur*, (viz. *An. Mundi* 3580) *quòd* Æthiopes *ab* Indo *flumine consurgentes, juxta* Æthiopiam (*juxta* Ægyptum Euseb.) *consederunt. Ex quo intelligitur, quòd terra illa in qua primitus* Æthiopes *habitaverunt*, Æthiopia *dicta esse potuerit.* What that Countrey was, we may in part gather from *Nicephorus Hist. Ecclesiast. l.* 9. *c.* 18. where, among other of these *Removers*, he names the *Assyrians*, whose Countrey he had formerly in the same Chapter called *India*, (even as the *African Æthiopians* also were called *Indians*) and a great part of it (as hath been said) was compassed with this *River Indus*: for having spoken of the *Auxumita*, (the most eminent Tribe amongst them) he adds, *Ante hos verò ad extimum pertingentes*

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tes Oceanum, Orientem verſus, Aſſyrii: *apud quos etian hanc appellationem habent, quos* Alexander Macedo, *ex* Syria *pulſos, Colonos eò deduxit. Ii ad hoc uſque tempus patriâ utuntur linguâ.* And ſeeing the identity of Language is the ſureſt proof of the identity of Nations, we may well ſuppoſe that the reſt of theſe *Removers* alſo were anciently their near neighbours, ſeeing the vulgar Language of theſe *Æthiopians* at this day (as themſelves confeſs, and *Scaliger* delivers for certain) is no other then the ancient *Chaldee*; which to have been the Language of the *Aſſyrians* alſo, and other adjacent Regions, (with little or no variation) is more evident then can be denied. Yea, of ſo large extent was this title of *Æthiopia*, that the *Chaldæans* themſelves may ſeem to have come under the compaſs of it. For *Tacitus, Hiſt. l.* 5. ſpeaking of the Antiquity of the *Jews*, tells us, that moſt Writers held them to be *Æthiopum prolem*, whoſe anceſtors notwithſtanding we all know came from *Ur of the Chaldees*. And in like manner *Strabo* notes *Phœnicia* by ſome to have been called *Æthiopia, Geog. l.* 1. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Φοινίκην μεταγουσι. Which as it is evident in the ſtory of *Per-*

seus fetching *Andromeda* from *Æthiopia*, (say the Poets) which was indeed from *Joppa*, where *Cepheus* her Father was King, and where the bones of that *Monster* (slain by *Perseus*) were to be seen many Ages after: so might *Strabo*, by the help of that Observation, have better understood that much debated Verse in *Homer*, which, after long sifting, he leaves at length with a far less probable interpretation. *Homer*, *Odyss.* δ'. 81.

Αἰθίοπάς θ' ἱκόμην, καὶ Σιδονίους, καὶ Ἐρεμβούς,
Æthiopes *adii*, *tum* Sidonios & Erembos.

All which *Menelaus* might well doe, and yet never pass out of the *Mediterranean Sea*; for the truth is, all these were neighbour-Nations, dwelling along the Sea-coast betwixt *Ægypt* and *Cilicia*: the *Æthiopians* about *Joppa*, the *Sidonians* in their own then-famous City; and the *Erembi* were either the *Arabians*, or rather the *Syrians*, whom the Scripture calleth *Aramites*, and were anciently known to the Heathen under the same name *Aramæi*, as *Strabo* in the same place testifies. But my purpose is not to pursue the utmost extent of this word, which alone might serve to fill a Volume, seeing, (as the same *Strabo* testifies *l.* 1.) anciently the better part of the

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Habitable World went under the name of *Æthiopia*: but confining my ſearch within its due limits, it ſhall ſuffice me to mention thoſe *Æthiopians* onely whom (as *Moſes* and *Pauſanias* tell us) the River *Gihon compaſſeth*, or courſeth by. For, as *Ainſworth* on *Gen.* 2. 11. noteth, the Original word is ſometime uſed for turning and paſſing along by, though not round about; as in *Joſ.* 15. 3. and 16. 6. where the *Greek* tranſlates it παρελεύσεται, *paſs by*: and ſo he ſuppoſeth it to be taken by *Moſes*. Now if we take a review of this River, even from its Fountain to its Out-let, we may diſcover ſome ſcattered mention of *Æthiopia* and *Æthiopians*. For as touching its Spring-head, we have heard *Æthicus* (before cited) placing it in or about *Æthiopia*: *Fluvius* Tigris *etiam ipſe de Monte* Caucaſo *quaſi viſitur natus, cùm æſtivis temporibus ſub humo eum deſuper* Æthiopiam *currere ex viriditate ſuperni ceſpitis prædatur.* The Inhabitants of *Sagrus* or *Zagrus* (a Mountain that lay to the back of this River in a good part of its Courſe) are obſerved to be a Nation of *Æthiopians*; for ſo *Heſychius*, Σάγραι, ἔθνος. (*lege* ἔθνη.) Αἰθιόπων. The Province of *Elymais* with the adjoyning Territories (τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἐλυ-

Ἑλυμαίων) are by *Epiphanius in Anchoret. n.* 58. expressly placed in *Æthiopia*. And for the Inhabitants of *Susiana*, that they went anciently under the name of *Æthiopians*, we have a Testimony of as great antiquity as the evidence of any Heathen History will reach: for *Memnon*, who came from *Susa* to the aid of *Priamus* in the *Trojan Warr*, is by the ancientest Writers called *Æthiopum Rex*. So *Hesiod in Theogonia*,

Τιθωνῷ δ' Ἠὼς τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστὴν,
Αἰθιόπων βασιλῆα——

Ast Aurora *parit* Tithono Memnona *fortem*,
Æthiopum *Regem*——

So accordingly *Pindarus*, *Olymp. Od.* 2. calls him Ἀὼς παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα, Auroræ *filium* Æthiopem. And *Pausanias*, *Phoc. sive l.* 10. mentioning a Table in which *Memnon*'s Picture was drawn, adds; *Prope* Memnonem *nudus est puer ex* Æthiopia; *quòd nempe* Æthiopum *Rex fuit* Memnon. *Venit enim ad Bellum* Trojanum *non ex* Æthiopia, *sed à* Susis Persarum *urbe, debellatis iis omnibus Nationibus quæ mediæ sunt usque ad* Choaspum (Choaspem) *flumen*. And the like hath *Diod. Sic. Bibli-*

othec.

othec. l. 3. c. 6. Cùm Priamus *bello oppreſſus, ab Rege* Theutamo *præſidium, utpote* Aſſyriis *ſubditus, per Legatos poſtulâſſet; ille decem millia* Æthiopum, *totidémque* Suſianos, *cum ducentis curribus, duce* Memnone, *ad* Trojam *miſit.* That he reckoneth the *Suſians* apart from the *Æthiopians*, it is not becauſe they alſo were not *Æthiopians*, but becauſe he had conquered ſome other Nations lying about *Suſiana*, whom therefore he notes under this more general name of *Æthiopians*; and immediately after calls them by the like general name of *Perſians*, for ſo it followeth, *Erat tunc* Tithonus, (Memnonis *pater*) *Præfectus* Perſarum, *acceptus maximè Regi.* And ſo thoſe *Perſians* which the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Miltiades*, overthrew in the Plains of *Marathon*, were pictured under the habit of *Æthiopians*, in a Viall which the Statue of *Nemeſis* held in her right hand, formed by *Phidias* out of that Marble ſtone which the enemies had brought with them, and preſumptuouſly deſigned for a Monument of their own Victorie, *Pauſan. Attic. ſive l.* 1. Which is a thing ſo clear, that it is ſtrange ſo great an Antiquary as *Pauſanias* was ſhould ſtick at it; who dreaming onely of *Æthiopians* in *Africk*, profeſſes he knew not what to make

of

of it. So great a lett is Prejudice to the discerning of the truth. Nor is that to be neglected which *Strabo* notes, *Geog. l.* 15. that *Æschylus* called the Mother of this fore-mentioned *Memnon* Κισσίαν· which we must not take for her proper name, (for that was *Aurora*, say the Poets) but *nomen gentilitium*, taken from the Countrey where she lived, viz. *Susiana*. Λέγον δὲ καὶ Κίσσιοι οἱ Σῦσοι, (saith *Strabo* in the same place) Susii *enim etiam* Cissii *dicti sunt*: or rather *Cossæi*, as himself and other Geographers call them for the most part; of whom frequent mention is made in Histories, especially in the Life of *Alexander*, before whose time (as it may seem) they had enlarged themselves farther then the bounds of *Susiana*, and possessed not onely the Mountains that lay betwixt it and *Persia*, but spred themselves up Northward all along the back of this River into divers scattered portions of Mount *Taurus*, not onely Eastward as far as *Media*, but Westward also even to the Fountains of *Tigris*. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 27. Susianis *ad Orientem versus junguntur* Cossæi *latrones*. In which place *Strabo* also finds them, and enlarging their Bounds yet farther towards the North-east, *Geograph. l.* 11. Ὁρίζει δ' ἀπὸ

δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἕω τῇ τε Παρθυαίων καὶ τοῖς Κοσσαίων ὄρεσι, λῃστρικῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ τοξότας μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους παρέσχοντό ποτε, Ἐλυμαίοις συμμαχοῦντες ἐπὶ Σουσίους καὶ Βαβυλωνίους. Νέαρχος δέ φησι, Τεττάρων ὄντων λῃστρικῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρσαις προσεχεῖς ἦσαν, Οὔξιοι δὲ καὶ Ἐλυμαῖοι τούτοις τε καὶ Σουσίοις, Κοσσαῖοι δὲ Μήδοις· πάντας μὲν φόρους πράττεσθαι τοὺς βασιλέας. Κοσσαίους δὲ καὶ δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἡνίκα ὁ βασιλεὺς θερίσας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καταβαίνοι· καταλῦσαι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πολλὴν τόλμην Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιθέμενον χειμῶνος. Τούτοις δὲ δὴ ἀφορίζεται πρὸς ἕω, καὶ ἔτι τοῖς Παραιτακηνοῖς, οἳ συνάπτουσι Πέρσαις, ὀρεινοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ λῃστρικοὶ, Media *major definitur versus Ortum* Parthiâ *& Montibus* Cossæorum. *Sunt hi Latrociniis dediti, & aliquando sagittariorum XIII millia eduxerunt,* Elymæis *suppetias ferentes contra* Susios *ac* Babylonios. Nearchus *ait, Cùm quatuor sunt populi prædando viventes, de quibus* Mardi Persis *contigui erant,* Uxii *&* Elymæi *iisdem atque* Susiis, Cossæi Medis; *omnes eos tributa à Regibus exegisse.* Cossæos *autem munera etiam accipere, cùm Rex æstate* Ecbatanis *transactâ in* Babyloniam *descendit: nimiam tamen eorum audaciam ab* Alexandro *fuisse compressam,*

cùm

cùm eos hyeme adortus esset. His ergò Media *versus Ortum definitur; ac* Parætacenis *proterea, qui contigui* Persis, *ipsi quoque Montana incolunt, & Latrocinia exercent.* Which Testimony I have therefore recited at large, that in it we may see the warlike spirits and ancient power of this Nation, such as to impose Tribute upon the greatest Kings, untill they were subdued by *Alexander*. *Dionysius Afer* remembreth them under the name of *Cissii*, (as *Herodotus* also doth oftner then once) and sets them toward the North of *Babylonia*, comprehending under that name *Assyria*, (as others also do:)

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος, ὅτι πρὸς Βορέαο,
Κισσοί, Μεσσαβάταί τε, Χαλωνῖταί τε νέμονται.
At supra Babylona *vides Aquilonis ad oras*
Cissos, Messabatásque, Chalonitásque *feroces.*

That the *Cissii* or *Cossæi* are placed adjoyning to the *Messabatæ*, is agreeable to that of *Pliny*, *l.* 6. *c.* 27. Susianis *ab Oriente proximi sunt* Cossæi; *supra* Cossæos *ad Septentrionem* Mesobatene. Indeed *Ptolemy* placeth the *Messabatæ* in *Persia*; but *Strabo* saith it was a Region of *Elymaïs*; and haply it was adjoyning to the borders

of

of them both: about which place that the *Coſſæi* were their neighbours, is farther atteſted by *Dom. Marius Niger, Geog. Aſiæ, Com.* 5. Suſianæ *partem Septentrionalem* Coſſæi *tenent, regiuncula haud fertilis, tota enim montuoſa eſt, per quam* Coſæus *amnis tranſit. Homines ſagittarii, qui Latrocinia exercent.* That *Coſæus amnis* I take to be the ſame that in *Æthicus* is called *fluvius Suſa*, which (as he deſcribes it) *in* Media *Provincia naſcitur, bicornis; efficitur unus: currit millia* 504, *deſcendit in Sinum* Perſicum. Whereupon *Joſ. Simlerus* paſſeth this not improbable Conjecture: *Intelligo fluvium juxta quem eſt* Suſa *Urbs, hoc eſt,* Eulæum: *quem bicornem dicit, quoniam duos habet Fontes, unum in* Suſiana, *alterum in* Media, Zagro *Monte, qui infra* Suſa *in unum confluunt.* And it may be *Joſephus* meant no other River but this, when he fetched the Original of the *Samaritans* Anceſtours *à flumine Cutho.* True, he ſets that River in *Perſia*, and makes the people a *Perſian* Nation. *Antiq. Jud. l.* 9. *c. ult. Deinde migrare juſſâ* Perſicâ *quadam gente ex eo tractu qui ab amne* Cutho *denominatur, ſedes ei deſignavit in agro* Samariæ, *cæterâque* Iſraelitarum *regione. Et paulò pòſt; Cæterùm novi* Samariæ

mariæ *coloni* Chuthæi: *ſic enim tum appellabantur, quòd à* Perſidis *regione* Chutha *& flumine* Chutho *eſſent traducti, &c.* But if we remember that *Ptolemy* alſo placeth *Meſſabatene* in *Perſis*, (where farther within land he finds a Nation likewiſe of the *Suſæi*) and conſider alſo how largely the name of *Perſia* was taken in the time of *Joſephus*, this will breed no great difference. Yet I do not aſſent unto *Joſephus*, that this people took their name from the River, but rather the River from them; which if it were one of the Horns of *Eulæus*, or rather a Stream that fell into it, or received it, it may well ſeem to have been no other River then this we have diſcourſed upon. And that it ſhould take the name of *fluvius Chuthæus* is nothing improbable, becauſe (as *Moſes* ſaith) it watered the whole land of *Chus*. And indeed the *Coſſæi* did border upon it, not onely here in *Meſobatene*, where they inhabited upon Mount *Zagrus*, but all along its Courſe to its Spring, upon thoſe Mountains that lay to the back of *Aſſyria* even to *Armenia*; where having formerly ſeated themſelves, they ſtraggled afterward farther Eaſtward into *Media* and *Perſia*, and poſſeſſed divers Mountainous places in thoſe Countries, even to the bor-

ders

ders of *India*, (though not without some change of their Name.) So much I learn from *Strabo*, who, speaking of the Northern parts of *Media*, writes thus: Ἡ δὲ προσάρκτιος ὀρεινὴ, καὶ τραχεῖα, καὶ ψυχρὰ, Καδουσίων κατοικία τῶν ὀρεινῶν, καὶ Ἀμαρδῶν, καὶ Ταπύρων, καὶ Κυρτίων, καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων· οἱ μετανάσται εἰσὶ, καὶ λῃστρικοί. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζάγρος καὶ ὁ Νιφάτης κατεσπαρμένα ἔχουσι τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι Κάρτιοι καὶ Ἀμαρδοὶ (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγονται οἱ Ἀμαρδοὶ) καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ, μέχρι νῦν ὁμωνύμως προσαγορευόμενοι, τῆς αὐτῆς εἰσιν ἰδέας, *Quod autem ad Septentrionem vergit, montosum, asperum, & frigidum est: ubi degunt* Cadusii *montani*, Amardi, Tapyri, Cyrtii, *aliíque id genus; qui & aliunde in ista migraverunt loca, & sunt Latrones.* Zagrus *enim &* Niphates *istas gentes sparsas habent: & qui in* Persia *sunt* Cartii *&* Amardi (*sic enim vocant* Mardos) *& qui in* Armenia *sunt eodem hodiéque nomine censentur, eundémque habitum tenent.* By which Testimony it is evident, that the *Cartii* and *Mardi* or *Amardi* in *Media* and *Persia* were originally descended from the *Cartii* and *Mardi* in *Armenia* and the Mountains adjoyning to it; where we need not doubt to find them, seeing *Ptolemy*,

reckoning up the Countries that lay East to the Fountains of *Tigris*, nameth Gordene, *& quæ magis Orientalis* Cortæa, *& qui sub ipsa sunt* Mardi; who yet were of the same progeny with their neighbours, though attaining this different name: which as it is well observed by learned Mr. *Fuller*, so it may be farther confirmed by comparing the Writers of *Alexander*'s Conquest of these Nations; for those whom *Arrianus* calleth *Mardos*, *Curtius* calleth *Cardos*. And it is very probable (which he conjectures) that this name was given them in stomach by their neighbours the *Assyrians*, because they could not conquer them: for מרד is as much as ἀφίστασθαι *deficere*, and in the *Chaldee* מרודא is *Apostata* or *Rebellis*; and such they were alwaies to the *Assyrian* Monarchs, who undertaking to invade them, were put to the worst, and their Armies wholly routed by them, as a Native of those parts told *Xenophon*. Which doubtless was the reason why *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, having slain their Father *Sennacherib*, fled *into the land of Ararat* (where this Nation dwelt) for protection. As for the *Cartii*, which *Strabo* more usually calleth *Curtii*, as also the *Cordi*, *Cordiæi*, (and *Gordiæi*) *Carduени*, *Carduchi*, &c. that they were

were originally *Coſſæi*, their name it ſelf (notwithſtanding all this alteration) may evince. For, by the light alteration of an *S* into an *R*, *Coſſæi* at the firſt became *Cortii*, and *Curtii*, and *Cartii*; afterward *Cardi*, and *Cordi*, and *Gordii*, and *Gordiæi*, &c. And hereof we may gather a good argument from the different writing of their Countrie's name in *Ptolemy*. For whereas *Maginus* and *Marius Niger* have it *Cortæa*; *Ortelius*, in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus*, (with others) hath it *Cutæa*; which anciently to have been *Coſæa* or *Coſſæa* none will deny that knows how cuſtomary it is in the *Syriack* Tongue to change *S* into *T*, (as hath already been obſerved.) And ſeeing this Countrey lay ſo near the River that watered the land of *Chus*, and the Name anſwereth ſo exactly to it, (for how ſmall is the difference betwixt כוּתָא and *Cotæa*?) I ſhould rather incline to believe that this might be the more likely place from whence that *Colony* was tranſplanted into *Samaria*; not onely becauſe it lay nearer to thoſe places remembred in the Catalogue of the *Aſſyrian* Conqueſts, as Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the Children of* Eden *which were in* Thelaſar; but alſo becauſe the captive *Iſraelites* (who ſeem to have

changed Countries with them) were bestowed here-abouts. 2 *Kings*, 17. 6. *In the ninth year of* Hoshea, *the King of* Assyria *took* Samaria, *and carried* Israel *away into* Assyria; *and placed them in* Halah, *and in* Habor, *by the River of* Gozan, *and in the Cities of the* Medes. As we have formerly noted *Halach* or *Chalach* to be *Chalachena*; so *Habor* or *Chabor* was either *Al-Chabur*, which *Geog. Nub.* sets in the North of *Assyria*, or else some Region in Mount *Coathras*, which in the *Greek* Copies of *Ptolemy* is called Χαβώρας τὸ ὄρος. *Gozan* gave name to a double Region, (but both adjoyning to these parts) the one in *Mesopotamia*, the other in *Media*. And for *the Cities of the Medes*, I suppose not onely *Amedon* is meant, (which *Geog. Nub.* calls *Hamadan*, *Benjamin Tudelensis Hemdan*, and saith *(in Itinerario)* that he found therein near upon 50000 *Israelites)* but all other Cities in that Countrey, out of which those Nations were drawn that were sent with the *Chuthites* to make up that *Samaritan Colony*, and are thus reckoned *Ezra* 4. 9. *The Dinæi, Aparsathcæi, Tapelæi, Aparsæi, Arcavæi, Babylonii, Susanchæi, Dehavæi, and Helamæi*: which (omitting the *Babylonians* and *Susanchites*, which

which are well enough known without a Commentary) are expounded by *Junius* to be the *Dennani*, (or *Dani*, or moſt commonly *Daii*, joyned with the *Mardi* by *Herodot. l.* 1.) the *Parætaceni*, the *Tapyri*, the *Perſæ*, the *Araceni*, (or Inhabitants of *Oracana*, a City of *Media* in *Ptol.*) the *Daritæ*, called alſo *Zapoverteni*, (or rather the *Debæ*, ſo called by contraction for *Dehabæ*) and the Inhabitants of *Elymaïs*, the ancient neighbours of the *Coſſæi*. Nor am I any thing deterred from this opinion by that of *Abrabaniel*, who makes *Cuth* or *Cutha* a City of the *Chaldæans*: כות היה עיר אחרת בארץ כשרים, Cuth *eſt Civitas alia in* Chaldæorum *regione*. For as the name of *Chaldæa* is found given to other Regions beſide that which lies upon *Babylonia*; ſo this in which the *Curdi* dwelt is commonly known to the *Arabians* by that name. *Leunclavius*, *Pandect. Turc. nu.* 232. *A vicinis* Perſis *&* Turcis *ea Regio* Curdiſtan *appellatur*, *quam nunc quoque* Keldan *vocant* Arabes, *id eſt*, Chaldæam. And ſo much *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ. had obſerved: *Chaldia*, *Regio* Armeniæ. *Incolæ* Chaldi. But other *Chaldi* in *Armenia* there are none but the *Cardi*, formerly called *Cartii* and *Curtii*, and at the firſt *Coſſæi*.

As for the name of *Scythæ*, which Heathen Authors give this Nation, as it was ſutable enough to them in regard of their often flitting and wandring, (for Hiſtorians repreſent them to us like right *Nomades*, and therefore they are not unjuſtly called by *Strabo* Μεταναίσι) ſo no doubt but it was taken from their well-known name סוחים, as the City *Bethſan*, which was re-edified and re-peopled by them, is famouſly known by the name of *Scythopolis*. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 18. Scythopolin, *antea* Niſam, Libero *Patre*, *ſepultâ Nutrice ibi*, Scythis *deductis*; *id eſt*, Chuthæis. And ſo the Countrey from whence they came is from ultimate Antiquity remembred by the Heathen under the name of *Scythia*, being indeed *Cotæa* or *Chutha*; which lying ſo near (as it doth) to the Mount *Gordiæus*, where the *Ark* is ſaid to reſt after the *Deluge*, I doubt not but it might be made appear by good proof, that this was that *Scythia Saga*, *in qua renatum ferunt mortale genus*: Cato *in Frag.* But the clearing of this would lead us into too large a Digreſſion; and therefore I forbear it, and proceed to the proſecution of the ſubject in hand. Seeing the Radical Letters in the Original were the ſame (ſave the different pronunciation of a

Vowel) in all thoſe ſeveral names of *Ciſſii*, *Coſſæi*, *Cuthæi*, and *Suſii*, we need not doubt to affirm, that theſe were indeed the true and primitive *Æthiopians*, whom the Inhabitants of *Aſia* (as *Joſephus* hath told us) called *Chuſæi*. And hence it appears that their Etymologie is falſe that have derived the name of *Suſiana* from שושן, which in the *Perſian* Tongue (they ſay) as well as the *Hebrew* ſignifies a Lilly. I will not deny but *Suſhan the Palace*, and haply *Suſa* the City (whence thoſe *Suſanchites Ezra* 4.9.) might take their denomination from that Root; but certainly that Region whoſe ancient name was *Ciſſia*, (ſtill continuing to a part of this Province in *Ptolemy*'s time) and the name of the Inhabitants not onely *Ciſſii* but *Coſſæi*, could have no other original of their denomination then כוש. And hereof the Inhabitants themſelves give us good aſſurance, who (even to this day) call their Countrey, not *Suſiana*, but *Cuſiſtan*, which is neither more nor leſs then the Country of *Chus*. *Benjamin in Itin.* calls it כוסתאן *Cuzeſtan*; others call it *Cureſtan*, even as *Chus* the ſon of *Cham* is by *Beroſus* called *Cur. Dom. Mar. Niger, Geog. Aſia Com.* 5. Suſiana *Provincia ſequitur, quam quidam in partem* Perſidis

ponunt, nomen à Susa *Urbe clariss. deducens; nunc à Barbaris patriâ linguâ* Chus *dicitur.* And no marvel it should take its name from him, who with his posterity seated himself here very early after the Floud, even before the building of *Babel*. For if *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, when he went with his rebellious Associates into the land of *Shinar* to build that *Tower*, journeyed from the *East*, as *Moses* saith they did, *Gen.* 11. 2. then in all probability the place from whence they set out was *Susiana*, which lies next East to *Babylonia*. Indeed *Chus* had a numerous posterity, whence it was that his name spred so far. Some of them passed into *Arabia* over the River *Tigris*, which I should chuse for a more probable Bounder of the Eastern and Western *Æthiopians* mentioned in *Homer*, then the *Arabian Sea*, or *Mare Rubrum*; though I know also that many Secular Writers have comprehended the *Persian Gulf* under that name. Of the Western or *Arabian Æthiopians* many Commentators have written learnedly: and if they had turned their pens to enquire after these in the East also, I doubt not but they might have found out a better interpretation of many places of Scripture then ordinarily

hath

hath been given. As (*Ex. gr.*) where *Chus* and *Elam* are joyned together, *Eſay* 11. 11. *Paras, Chus, and Phut, Ezek.* 38. 5. as formerly *Paras, Phut, and Lud, Ezek.* 27. 10. For as *Paras* and *Elam* are well known to be Eaſtern Nations, (to whom the *Coſſæi* were near neighbours;) ſo we ſhould not alwaies need to goe into *Africk* and *Aſia minor* for *Phut* and *Lud*, but find them nearer at hand, if we did well conſider that place in *Judith*, 2. 23. And whether any help may hence be had for the better underſtanding of that obſcure Prophecy, *Eſay* 18. 1. I leave to better judgments to enquire. But ſurely it was not without cauſe that in that parallel Prophecy, *Zeph.* 3. 10. the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* renders *Trans flumina* כוש Æthiopiæ, by *E Regionibus ultra flumina* הודו Indiæ: whether thereby he meant the leſs noted *India* that we have by the way touched upon, or that other more famous and better known Region removed farther towards the Eaſt: for even there alſo were *Cuſhites* or *Æthiopians*. The *Iſraelites* in *Niſebor* by the River *Gozan* are ſaid *in bellum proficiſci ad Regionem* Cuſch *per viam deſerti*, Benj. *in Itin.* And *Herodotus* clearly diſtinguiſhing the Eaſtern *Æthiopians* from the Weſtern, joins them

them with the *Indians*, *Polymn. sive l.* 7. πρῶτοι μὲν πάντων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης· οἱ δὲ ἀπ' ἠλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες (δίχοι γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσεπετάχαντο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, Æthiopibus *quidem qui sunt ultra* Ægyptum *&* Arabibus *praerat* Arsames: *qui verò ab ortu Solis erant* Æthiopes *(bifariàm enim militabant) ordinati erant cum* Indis. And not onely long after did *Philostratus* find *Æthiopians* about the River *Indus*, but *Homer* long before had set them as far East as the rising of the Sun. And whether the River *Gihon* might not anciently compass even these also, I cannot certainly affirm: but the confounding of this River not onely with *Indus* but with *Ganges* also (by so many good Writers) might seem to intimate, as if they were believed anciently to have communicated in their Streams. And their opinion falls not far short of this, who have found the Fountain of *Ganges* in the Mountains of *Media*; as *Artemidorus*, that ancient and famous Geographer, is said to have done: and that of the fore-cited *Benjamin*, if we were certain it were true, might render it probable, who finds a Stream of *Tigris* emptying it self into the Sea over against the Island *Nikrokis*, which *Constantine*

L'Em-

L'Empereur supposes to be *Zeilan*, formerly called *Nanigeris*; an Island once famed with an opinion of *Paradise*, a River whereof *Ganges* is still held to be, by the native *Indians*, who yearly testifie that credulity by many superstitious Ceremonies. But the most remarkable Testimony is, the Draught of this River in that famous *Tabula Itineraria antiqua* lately set out by *Peutinger*, wherein the Head of it being set much about the place where we have found it, it is drawn quite through the East, and falls into the Oriental Ocean, having taken in by the way the River *Ganges*. If any ask how it should come to pass then, that the Course of it now should be intercepted, (if indeed it be wholly intercepted;) I answer, they will cease to wonder, if they consider not onely what *Strabo* hath related of a great Earthquake, whereby a great change happened among the Rivers in those parts, *Geog. l.* 1. Δοῦρις δὲ τὰς Ῥαγάδας, τὰς κατὰ Μηδίαν, ὀνομᾶσθαί φησιν, ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ῥαγείσης τῆς περὶ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας γῆς, ὥστε ἀνατραπῆναι πόλεις συχνὰς, καὶ κώμας, καὶ ποταμοὺς ποικίλας μεταβολὰς δέξασθαι, *Et* Duris *refert* Rhagades, *quæ in* Media *sunt, nomen indè habere, quòd Terræ-motibus rupta fuerit terra apud* Caspias portas, *complurésque*

eversæ

eversæ Urbes & Pagi, ac Fluviorum variæ inciderint mutationes; but remember also what formerly hath been noted of *Cyrus* cutting the Stream of *Gyndes* into so many Chanels as might well suffice to exhaust the greatest River. But I do not take upon me to maintain this, nor is there any need that I should, it being not much material to our purpose; seeing that Course of this River which we have formerly asserted from so good authority, *is abundantly sufficient both to clear and justify the Geography of* Moses.

CHAP. XII.

Another Division of Tigris; *and the River* Hiddekel *with good Evidence found out.*

AND now there remains but one Division more, fully to compleat the number of the *four Heads*; and this we have occasionally touched upon before in producing the testimony of *Pliny*, who gives us a clear account of it, *Hist. l. 6. c. 27.* Tigris *ex* Armenia *acceptis fluminibus claris*, Partheniâ *ac* Nicephorione, Arabas, Aroeos Adiabenósque *disterminans, &*

quam

quam diximus Meſopotamiam *faciens, luſtratis Montibus* Gordyæorum *circa* Apamiam Meſenes *oppidum, citra* Seleuciam Babyloniam *CXXV. M.P. diviſus in alveos duos, altero Meridiem ac* Seleuciam *petit,* Meſenen *perfundens; altero ad Septentrionem flexus, ejuſdem Gentis tergo Campos* Cauchas *ſecat.* The ſame Diviſion is alſo remembred by *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ. who findes the point of it in the ſame place that *Pliny* doth, viz. about *Apamia*: the Northern Stream he calls by the name of *Tigris minor*; and the Southern *Delas*, which is but a contraction of *Dehelath*, or (as otherwhile it is written) *Degelath* and *Diglath*, and *Tegelath* and *Tiglath*, and is the ſame no doubt with the *Hebrew* word חדקל, (ד being pronounced like *G*, as in *Gomorrha*) and in *Greek* is as much as Διώρυξ, in *Latin Aquæductus*, and accordingly is tranſlated in 1 *Kings* 18. 32. *Geog. Nub.* calls it *Dogiail*, *part.* 6. *clim.* 4. where in like manner he makes mention of this Diviſion agreeable to the former. Tacrit *eſt ex Urbibus* Mauſel, *jacétque ab Occidente* Tigris, *& opponitur illi in mediterraneo Urbs* Hatdher. *Prope* Tacrit *ſeparat ſe à* Tigri *flumen* Dogiail, *quod ejus terminos ſecans excurrit ad dominium* Sora-man-rai, *illúd-*

que

que alluit uſque ad partes vicinas Baghdad. If any haply think this an inconſiderable Diviſion, becauſe not long after their parting theſe Streams meet again, viz. at or before they attain *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, as *Pliny* intimates *loc. cit.* where he immediately ſubjoyns, *Ubi re-meavere aquæ*, Paſitigris *appellatur: Poſtea recipit ex* Media Choaſpem; *atque (ut diximus) inter* Seleuciam & Cteſiphontem *vectus, in Lacus* Chaldaicos *ſe fundit:* To this we anſwer, That it is more then probable that *Pliny* was deceived by the *homonymy* of the word *Tigris*, which River ſhedding ſeveral Streams from it, and all ſtill carrying the name of the original Stream, he might eaſily miſtake one for another. Truly I think he will hardly perſuade any that hath attentively conſidered the Chorography of theſe parts, that the River *Choaſpes* fell into that Stream of *Tigris* that runs by *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*; and yet it fell into *Tigris* too: for even this Stream we are in ſearch of was (even now) by *Stephanus* called *Tigris minor*; and with this it fell, not into the *Chaldæan* Lakes, (as *Pliny* ſaith, for no part of *Tigris* fell into them, but they were wholly made by the effuſion of *Euphrates*) but into the Lakes of *Suſiana*, (whoſe Coaſt towards

towards the *Perſian Gulf* was very fenny, as *Strabo* notes) and in particular that very Lake whereinto we obſerved the former River to fall, as will immediately appear. But be it ſo, that ſome of the waters of this Northern Stream fell into the Southern at the ſame place where *Pliny* ſaith they did; yet certain it is that it was not the whole body of the Stream, but ſome ſmall Chanel drawn out of it, which ſerved notwithſtanding to make the incloſed portion of ground a perfect Iſland, and is therefore by *Pliny* himſelf, as well as *Stephanus*, called *Meſene*. But that the main Stream held his Courſe ſtill farther on towards the North-eaſt, we have the warant of *Pliny* himſelf to aſſure us, who finds a Town ſituate upon the Banks of it at ſo large a diſtance from *Seleucia*, as will forbid us to think it could in any probability run back again unto it: for thus he writes in the fore-mentioned Book and Chapter: *In Septentrionali* Tigris *alveo Oppidum eſt* Babytace. *Abeſt à* Suſis *CXXXV. M. paſſ. Ibi mortalium ſoli aurum in odio contrahunt, id defodiunt, nè quo cui ſit in uſu.* If *Babytace* were removed but 135 miles from *Suſa*, it was removed at a far greater diſtance from *Seleucia*; for betwixt that and *Suſa* himſelf a little

a little before had ſet no leſs then 450 miles, out of which if we deduct 135, there remains ſtill 315 miles; all which this River having run before it attained *Babytace*, it is altogether incredible that the main Stream ſhould ever turn back again ſo ſuddenly, as to fall into *Tigris* about *Seleucia*: and indeed it did not, but held its Courſe ſtill on forward even to *Suſa* it ſelf, having firſt met with the former River *Gihon*, and *Choaſpes* with it, and afterward the River *Eulæus*; by which acceſs of Waters it became a mighty Stream, and flowing on ſtill towards the *Perſian Gulf* it carried all theſe Rivers along with it under its own name of *Tigris*, as we have learned before out of *Strabo*. And hence it is that *Benjamin* in his *Itinerary* calls the River that paſſed through *Suſa Tigris*, upon a Bridge whereof, that joyned the two parts of the City, he tells of a memorable Monument of Glaſs hung up in iron chains, made at the coſt of a *Mahometan* Prince in honour of the Prophet *Daniel*, if we may believe him. Nor is the name which this River holds at this day much diſſonant from its ancient appellation: for in our modern Maps the River which runs by *Suſa* is called *Tiritri*, which *Conſtantine L'Empereur* in his

Notes

Notes upon the place of *Benjamin* ſuppoſeth to have been corrupted from *Tigris*. And no doubt but this *Tigris* was it whoſe Chanel *Eumenes* filled with the ſlaughtered bodies of *Antigonus*'s Souldiers attempting to force a paſſage over it: for ſo it is expreſly called by *Diodorus Siculus*, who notwithſtanding had already told us of their quiet and uninterrupted paſſage over another *Tigris* long before they attained the place of this Defeat: for that was within a daies journey of *Suſa*, where *Eumenes* had his Head-quarters, having fortified the paſſages of this *Tigris* that flowed by it, while *Antigonus* was yet in *Babylonia* recruiting his Army, and framing a Bridge of Boats over that other Stream of *Tigris* that ran by *Seleucia*; which accordingly he did, and paſſed his Army over by it into *Suſiana* without any lett or hindrance, finding no oppoſition, till, attempting the paſſage of this *Tigris*, he received that remarkable Overthrow. An evidence ſo clear of this Stream of *Tigris* which we now ſpeak of, that it is a wonder ſome good Chronologers ſhould not hereby rather have been led on to the obſervation of it, then ſo unjuſtly (as they do) to charge *Diodorus* with a contradiction of which he is no way guilty,

ſave only through the default of their own miſtake. Now if *Tigris* were the ſame that *Moſes* calleth *Hiddekel*, as *Vatablus* ſaith is agreed upon by all, we need not doubt to affirm this to be the third River of *Paradiſe*, as finding it not onely paſſing under that name, but holding a Courſe ſo anſwerable to the Deſcription of *Moſes* as might ſerve alone to exclude all doubting. *Gen.* 2. 14. *And the name of the third River is* Hiddekel; *that is it which goeth toward the Eaſt of* Aſſyria. And ſuch and ſo agreeable to the ſame point of the Compaſs is the Current of this Stream as *Pliny* hath ſet it, that we cannot deſire a better Commentary. For if (as we have heard him ſay) this Stream, after its breaking from the other at *Apamia*, ran upward towards the North, (*ad Septentrionem flexus*) then it muſt of neceſſity bend its Courſe towards the Eaſt of the ancient *Aſſyria*: ſo that howſoever it watereth alſo the South ſide of that Region; yet this intimation of its inclination towards the North brings it up alſo to the Eaſt, with ſo large a bend as may well ſatisfie as much as the word קדמה doth require. And indeed that Teſtimony of *Pliny* doth repreſent to our minds the Current of this River at a higher draught towards

wards the North, then we know well how to expreſs in a Map, keeping any tolerable correſpondence with the Tables of *Ptolemy*. Beſides, the Prophet *Daniel* hath abundantly ſecured us that this River was *Hiddekel*, by the circumſtances of that famous Viſion which he ſaw upon the Banks of it, *Dan.* 10. where v. 4. he calls it *the great River, which is Hiddekel*. For if at the time when he ſaw that Viſion he was *Preſident of Suſiana*, and ordinarily reſident upon his charge in the *Metropolis* of that Province, or the place where the Royal Court uſed to be kept, viz. *Suſhan the Palace*, (as may be gathered from *Dan.* 8. 2. and is ſufficiently proved by *Scaliger*, both in his *Proleg. in lib. De Emend. Temp.* and in his *Notæ ad Frag.*) then there is no more doubt to be made that *Hiddekel* in him is the ſame Stream of *Tigris* which Secular Writers have found flowing through *Suſiana*, then that *Ulai* is the ſame River with that which by them is uſually called *Eulæus*: *ibid.* And here alſo it is much to conſider what mis-ſhapen reſemblances of the true name of this River have been continued to poſterity even amongſt Heathen Authors. For while it runs through *Suſiana* in its own proper Chanel, and hath not yet mingled its waters

with the River *Ξulæus*, it is by *Pliny* called *Hedypnus*, *l.* 6. *c.* 27. *Recipit amnem* Hedypnum *præter* Aſylum Perſarum *venientem*, *& unum ex* Suſianis. Some have written it *Hedypus*, but *Jo. Boccatius* calls it (in like manner as *Pliny* doth) *Hedypnus*, *lib. de Fluminib.* Hedypnus *fluvius eſt* Suſianorum Perſarum *in* Eulæum *flumen decurrens*. *Strabo* is obſerved to call this ſame River *Hedyphon*, or, as others write it, *Helyphon*, *Geog. l.* 16. Ἡρίδη ἣ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἡδυφῶντι ποταμῷ Σελεύκεια μεγάλη πόλις, Σολόκη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, *Capta eſt etiam prope flumen* Hedyphontem Seleucia *magna Civitas*, *quæ priùs* Soloce *vocabatur*. Now how eaſily theſe corrupted names of *Hedypus* or *Hedypnus*, *Hedyphon* or *Helyphon*, might be formed out of the true and proper name of this River *Hiddekel*, I think none will unwillingly grant, that hath been but lightly acquainted with the many far more unlikely changes of foreign (or, as they uſed to call them, barbarous) words, made uſually both by *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Proving the other Branch of this Diviſion to be Piſhon.

AND as we doubt not but this Stream was *Hiddekel*; ſo there is no more doubt to be made that the remaining Stream was *Piſhon*. And this we are the more emboldened to affirm, becauſe here we fall in with company: for not onely *Funius*, but divers other Learned men both before and after him, have been awakened to the obſervation of this, by the name *Paſitigris*, or *Piſotigris*, given it by *Pliny* and others; being indeed no other then its own proper name compounded with the common and vulgar name of this River. Whereunto we may adde the Teſtimony of *Xenophon*, who calls this River *Phyſcum amnem*, (by an eaſie miſtake for *Phiſon*) *De Expedit. Cyri lib.* 2. *A* Tigride *verò quartis caſtris M. paſſ. LXXX. confectis, ad* Phyſcum *amnem pervenere. Hujus latitudo paſſ. erat XX. Ponte is jungebatur. Nec longè aberat ampla Civitas,* Opis *nomine.* If any prejudge this Teſtimony as impertinent, becauſe *Xenophon* ſaith that they had

had paſſed *Tigris* already, and left it 80 miles behind their back, before they came to the River *Phyſcus*: let them but conſult the Hiſtory, and they ſhall be forced to acknowledg, that *Xenophon* had often before this called the Branches of *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris*; and that this Branch which they now had paſſed from was *Nahar-malca*, the uppermoſt of its Streams, from which directing their march towards *Aſſyria*, (which afterward they entered into not far from the River *Lycus*, having firſt paſſed the former Stream of this Diviſion of *Tigris* at a Town called *Cænæ*, after they had marched with it on their left hand ſome while in the *Campi Cauchæ*, or, as he calls them, *Solitudines Mediæ*) this *Phyſcus amnis*, which they met withall in the mid-way, could be no other then the remaining Stream of the ſame Diviſion, which *Moſes* calleth *Phiſon*. And that it was a part of *Tigris*, we have farther aſſurance from the City *Opis* ſituate ſo near unto it, and lying a little above the Bridge where they paſſed over it. For in the ſame manner hath *Strabo* alſo deſcribed the Decourſe of the River *Tigris* by this City, *Geog. l.* 11. *In intimo Paludis receſſu* Tigris *in voraginem incidens, longóque ſpatio*

infra

infra terram labens, apud Chalonitidem *emergit: indè ad* Opin *&* Semiramidis *murum procurrit.* *Quintus Curtius* is obſerved ſeveral times to call the River *Tigris* by the name of *Phaſis*, (being ſo taught by the Natives of thoſe parts) which *D. Marius Niger* imputeth as an Errour to him, *Geog. Aſiæ Com. 3.* Curtius Tigrim *Fluvium* Phaſim *incolas vocare ait; neſcio an errore inductus, quemadmodum de* Tanaï *fecit.* But if he erred no more about *Tanais* then he did about *Tigris*, our charity will eaſily abſolve him from much guilt, and judge him not onely worthy of a pardon, but of thanks, for acquainting us ſo honeſtly (though not without ſome little imperfection) with the teſtimony of the Natives touching the name of this River in their own language: for better witneſſes then theſe we cannot deſire; and we have great preſumptions to believe, that howſoever it ſeemed to ſound *Phaſis* in his ears, yet it was *Phiſon* in their mouths, the true and ancient name of this River. The ſame pardonable miſtake is noted in *Paſitigris* for *Phiſotigris*: and ſome have obſerved the like in the *prænomen* of the City *Charax*, built not far from the mouth of this River, where it emptieth it ſelf into the *Perſian Gulf.* For

whereas *Dion* in the Life of *Trajan* calls it Σπασίνου Χάραξ, and ſo doth *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ. in *Pliny l. 6. c. 27.* it is *Paſines*; *Junius* thinks it ought to be read *Phiſonis Charax*, as taking denomination from this River. But becauſe thoſe Authors agree that it took that name from *Spaſinus* or *Paſines*, (a petty King in thoſe parts) who re-edified it, we will not preſs that Conjecture too far; but rather, turning our eyes from the Out-let of this River to its Fountain, take notice of that Field that lay near about it, which hath retained the name of this River ſo entirely, that, notwithſtanding the ſucceſſion of ſo many Ages, no corruption hath eaten into it. *Procop. De Ædif. Juſtin. l.* 1. Martyropoli *ad Solem occidentem locus adjacet* Phiſon *appellatus.* If this place (whatſoever it was) lay to the Weſt of *Martyropolis*, it lay not far from the Fountains of *Tigris*; ſo that in all likelihood its Stream ran either through or by it, and (as may be ſuppoſed) gave it this name. Whereupon will farther follow, that though this name of *Phiſon* be properly due to this fourth and laſt Diviſion of the Streams of *Tigris*, yet that it ſhed it ſelf alſo through the whole Current of this River, even to its Fountain:

and

and this (perhaps) was the reaſon why the uppermoſt and greateſt of theſe Streams (which we have found to be *Gihon*) was by the Ancients commonly called *Phiſon*. Yea *Moſes* himſelf may be ſuppoſed therefore to have named *Phiſon* the firſt amongſt thoſe Rivers, becauſe it was the main Stream out of which the reſt did flow.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Land of Havilah, *where there is* Gold, Bdellium, *and the* Onyx-ſtone.

AS for the Land of *Havilah*, *Chavilah*, *Evilah*, and *Evilath*, (as it is differently written by ſeveral Writers) which this River compaſſed, *Gen.* 2. 11. we ſhall better determine what and where it was, when we have taken notice that *Moſes*, *Gen.* 10. makes mention of two men under this name, both Heads of Families, and giving denomination to their ſeveral *Countries*. The one was *Havilah the ſon of Joctan*, whoſe poſterity are ſaid to inhabit *from* Meſha *as thou goeſt to* Sephar, *a Mount of the Eaſt*, v. 30. Both which bounds *Junius* finds in *Meſopotamia*; taking *Meſha* for

for *Mount Masius*, and *Sephar* for *Sippha-ra*, a City that stood upon the uppermost Stream of *Euphrates*. But this Interpretation may well be suspected as doubtful, because to justifie it he is constrained to adde a preposition more into the Text then *Moses* will own. For whereas in the Original it is באכה ספרה חר הקרם (*id est, ad verbum*) *Ingrediendo te* Sepharam *montem Orientis*; *Junius* renders it, *Quâ venis* Sepharam, *ad montes Orientis usque*. Which liberty, how tolerable or necessary soever it may be elsewhere, is not easily to be allowed here, there being no other just cause of this swerving, but a prejudicate opinion that *Sephar*, was the name of a City, which *Moses* expresly makes the name of a *Mountain*. Much more probable I take to be the interpretation of *Josephus*, (followed by so many of the Ancients, *Euseb. Hieronym. &c.*) who gives us this *Commentary* upon *Moses*'s words, *Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 7. Hiâ* Cophene *flumine* Indiæ *ad* Assyriam *usque habitant*: so it is in *Gelenius*'s *Edition*, but certainly corrupted; for S. *Hierom*, quoting that Testimony two several times, (*lib. De loc. Heb.*) hath it, *Feriam regionem*: But the *Greek* Copy of *Eusebius* lately set out by

Bon-

Bonfrerius hath (no doubt) still retained the true reading, and gives us the best account of *Moses*'s meaning; Σωφειρὰ ὄρος ἀνατολῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, περὶ ᾧ κατῴκησαν υἱοὶ Ἰεκτὰν, υἱοῦ Ἑβὲρ, οὓς φησιν Ἰώσηππος ἀπὸ Κοφῆνος ποταμοῦ τῆς τε Ἰνδικῆς ἕως αὐτῆς Σηρίας κατασχεῖν, Sophira *mons Orientis juxta* Indiam, *apud quem habitârunt filii* Jectan, *filii* Heber, *quos ait* Josephus *à* Cophene *fluvio & Regione* Indiæ *usque ad ipsam* Seriam *occupâsse*. Whereby it is evident that the corrupted name of *Jeria* and *Assyria* in *Josephus* was indeed *Seria*, or the Countrey of the *Seres*, who had their name from זרח that signifieth *Oriens*, because they were Inhabitants of the utmost part of the known world Eastward: between whose Countrey and *India* lay *Mount Sephar*, (the East bound of the sons of *Joctan*) which by *Arrianus* (in his *Periplus Erythræi maris*) is called *Pyrrhus Mons*, in *Ptolemy Bepyrrus*, but in *Mercator*'s Tables *Sepyrrus*, or rather *Sephyrrus*; and was no other then that long ledge of Mountains that, taking rise from near the *Indian Ocean*, stretch themselves far up to the North, and separate betwixt *Indostan* and the Kingdom of *China* to this day. And for the Western Bound, the River *Cophen*, that being well known

known to be the first of those Rivers Westward that make up the full Stream of *Indus*; *Mesha* in *Moses* is either the famous Mount *Nysa*, (where *India* begins) called also (perhaps) *Mysa*, even as *Paropanisus* (the same Mount, but compounded with another word) is by divers called *Paropamisus* and *Paropamissus*; or else it was the Region of the *Assaceni* lying under it, whose true name indeed was *Massaceni*, as appears by their Metropolis *Massaca*, (or rather *Massacara, i. e. Massa civitas*) situate near the River *Cophen*, as *Arrianus* testifies *lib. Rerum Indic. in initio*. And that *Havilah* should have a dwelling betwixt these Bounds, is very credible from *Moses*'s joyning him with his brother *Ophir*, *Gen.* 10. 29. whose Seat was so near this Mountain, that *Eusebius* (and after him S. *Hierom*) confound their names, or rather derive the Mountain's name from the Man's, affirming that *the Gold which* Solomon's *Navy brought from Ophir*, was from this Mount *Sophera*, *loc. citat. & suprà in voce* Ophir: and so *Hesychius*; Σωφείρ, χώρα ἐν ᾗ οἱ πολύτιμοι λίθοι καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς, ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ. But *Tzetzes* hath retained its right name *Ophyr*, finding it about the same place; and gives us particular notice, that it was the same

Countrey

Countrey with that which in *Ptolemy* and others is called *Chersonesus Aurea*, a *Peninsula* lying betwixt *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Magnus*, (or rather *Mangus*) called at this day *Malacca*.

Insula est Indica *quam (Poetæ)* Auream *vocant*;
Alii verò Peninsulam dicunt, sed non Insulam.
Hebræi *autem* Ophyr *linguâ suâ vocant.*
Habet enim metalla auri & lapides omnifarios.
Excellenter magìs verò Prasinum *lapidem.*

And if this were the Region of *Ophir*, no question but the *Evilæi*, remembred by good Authors as dwelling near about the same parts, were the true posterity of his brother *Havilah*. *Vetus Orbis Descriptio*, (lately set out by *Gothofredus*) reckoning up the Nations which lay next to the West of the *Seres*, nameth first the *Brachmani*: Μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἕτερα ἡ χώρα τῶν Εὐϊλέων· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄναρχοι, καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν τῶν θεῶν ζωὴν ζῶντες. Ὧν τούτων γῆ μονῶν τριάκοντα δυοῖν, *Post hos ab alio latere est regio* Evilæorum; *qui & ipsi Regum expertes sunt, & penè Deorum vitam viventes. Horum terra est mansionum triginta duarum.* In that he

he deſcribes them *penè Deorum vitam viventes*, he may ſeem to intimate their Sacred Function, inaſmuch as out of this Tribe were their *Hierophantæ* choſen among the *Indians*; as may appear alſo by *Epiphanius*, who in like manner joyneth them with the *Brachmans*, *Expoſit. Fidei Cathol. num.* 12. Ἰνδῶν δὲ, οἱ Εὐίλεοι καλούμενοι καὶ Βαρημᾶ ἐν ταῖς (*leg.* Βραχμᾶνες) Ἑλλήνων, ἱεροφάντας τε, καὶ νεωκόρων Κυνικῶν πλῆθος, Indorum *verò*, Evilæi *appellati* & Brachmanes; Græcorum *Hierophantæ*, & *Ædituorum Cynicorum turba*. And we may well preſume that from them that double Region took name, which he calls Εὐϊλὰτ τῆς μικρᾶς, καὶ τῆς μεγάλης, *In Anchoret. n.* 58. Through both which ſeeing he finds the River *Phiſon* flowing, his Teſtimony might well enough ſave us farther labour in this ſearch, if *Phiſon* were the ſame to him that it is to us. But ſeeing it is manifeſt that he (as divers of the Ancients beſides) calls that Stream of this River by the name of *Phiſon* which we have found to be *Gihon*, (and is extended by them as far as *Ganges*;) we having beſtowed this title upon *Paſitigris*, are bound to find another Land of *Havilah* beſides this in the *Eaſt-Indies*, much farther removed towards

wards the Weſt. And we doubt not but the *ſecond Havilah* will help us herein, who being the ſon of *Cuſh*, *Gen.* 10. 7. his dwelling may be preſumed not to be far removed from *Suſiana*. For though we have denied that Countrey to be *Havilah*, as finding no good warrant to aſſert it, and willing to reſerve it to his Father *Chus*, to whom of right it did belong: yet ſeeing divers of his Brethren paſſed over into *Arabia*, which was the next-adjoyning Countrey to the Weſt, and ſeparated from it at no greater diſtance then the Stream of this River, which compaſſed a good part of it, in ſuch manner as *Moſes* intimates; we need not deſpair to find him there amongſt his kindred, and his dwelling ſeated in ſuch wiſe as *Moſes* hath deſcribed it. And hereof we have the Teſtimony of *Moſes* himſelf to aſſure us, who deſcribing the dwelling of the *Iſhmaelites*, (the known Inhabitants of *Arabia* the Deſart) ſets their Weſtern Bound at *Sur*, which lies in the way to *Ægypt*, and the Eaſtern at *Havilah*, lying in the way to *Aſſyria*. Gen. 25. 18. *And they dwelt from* Havilah *to* Shur, *that is before* Ægypt, *as thou goeſt toward* Aſſyria. And in the ſame poſition did *Saul* many Ages after find them, when he was ſent

sent to make war against the *Amalekites*, 1. Sam. 15. 7. *And Saul smote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah *until thou comest to* Shur, *that is over against* Ægypt. And though no question but in after-times they underwent the same Changes that the rest of their neighbours the *Arabians* did; yet they still continued a Nation of such note, that Heathen Authors also have made mention of them. For *Strabo* speaking of the way betwixt *Petra* in *Nabathæa* and *Babylon*, (which he makes *IƆƆ ICC stadia*) sets out the passage of that journey in this wise: Πᾶσα μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς θερινὰς, διὰ δὲ τῶν παρακειμένων Ἀραβίων ἐθνῶν, Ναβαταίων τε, καὶ Χαυλοταίων, καὶ Ἀγραίων, *Tota autem via versus Ortum æstivum* [*tendit*] *per adjacentes* Arabum *gentes*, Nabatæos *scilicet*, Chaulotæos, *&* Agræos. Where, that by the *Chaulotæans* are to be understood the posterity of *Chavilah*, there is no more question to be made, then that by the *Agræi* he meant the *Hagarens* or *Hagarites*, who in *Psal.* 83. 6. are joyned with the *Edomites*, *Ishmaelites*, and *Moabites*: and in 1 *Chron.* 5. 19, 20. it is plainly intimated, that their Countrey lay to the East of the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, *and the half Tribe of Manasses*: farther East

of

of which those *Chaulotæans* dwelt, even as far as the Stream of *Phison*. So that whereas *Strabo*, in that Journal betwixt *Petra* and *Babylon*, sets the *Chaulotæans* next to the *Nabathæans*, and before the *Agreans*; it is not because the *Agreans* dwelt more East then the *Chaulotæans*, but because the *Chaulotæans* dwelt farther to the South then the *Agreans*, possessing some part of the Countrey that lay betwixt them and the *Nabathæans* in the way to *Babylon*. And so is *Dionysius Afer* to be understood, who in like manner remembreth both these Nations, save that the *Chaulotæi* in *Strabo* are by him called *Cablasii*, *in Perieg.*

Ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρῶτοι μὲν ὑπὲρ κλιτὺν Λιβάνοιο
Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἐπωνυμίην Ναβαταῖοι.
Ἄγχι δὲ Χαβλάσιοί τε καὶ Ἄγρεες· οἷς ἔπι γαῖα
Χατραμὶς ἐνναίει, κατεναντία Περσίδος αἴης.

Verùm enimvero primi ultra declivitatem Libani
Divites habitant cognomento Nabatæi.
Prope autem Chablasiique *&* Agrei; *quos juxta tellus*
Chatramitica *incolitur*; *è regione* Persicæ *terræ.*

And this gives some probability to the

Conjecture of *Auguſt. Steuchus Eugub. Coſmop. in Gen. c.* 2. that the *Chauchabeni*, which *Ptolemy* ſets along the Current of *Euphrates* and to the South of *Babylonia*, were indeed *Chaulatheni* (λ being changed into χ and θ into ϵ, which was eaſie.) However, no man can well deny that thoſe *Evaleni* mentioned by *Glaucus*, an ancient Hiſtorian, (*l.* 2. *Arabicorum*, as he is cited by *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ.) were the true poſterity of this *Havilah*. And ſo were thoſe *Bliulæi* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, (*Tab. Aſiæ* 6.) for that they were indeed *Evilæi Pliny* perſuades us, who calls the Hills that lay about them *Montes Eblitei*. And if any object that theſe were without the compaſs of the River *Phiſon*, becauſe they are in *Arabia Felix*, whereas this River emptied it ſelf into the *Perſian Gulf* at *Teredon*, (now called *Balſara:*) I anſwer; It is true, *Ptolemy* indeed finds the end of its Courſe about that City, but we have cauſe to believe that *Ptolemy* is herein defective: for not onely *Philoſtorgius apud Niceph. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l.* 9. *c.* 19. makes the Iſland *Meſſene*, which lies betwixt the two jaws of this River emptying it ſelf into the Sea, much larger then *Ptolemy*'s deſcription will bear; but alſo *Geog. Nub.* finds a Stream

(at

(at leaſt) of this River flowing ſtill on to the South, and upon the bank of it two great Cities, *Manbeg* and *Madar*. And *Petrus Texeira* (a learned man, and an expert Traveller in thoſe parts) aſſures us that it reached as far South as *Catifa* near unto *Baharen*: for thus he writes in his *Itinerary*, relating his paſſage up *Tigris* after they had ſailed the *Perſian Gulf*; *Ubi octo aut novem leucas adverſo flumine aſcenderis, dividit ſe Fluvius in duo brachia; quorum unus labens verſus meridiem Sinum* Perſicum *ingreditur in* Katifa *juxta* Barhen, *ità ut à Continente veluti dividat regionem quæ in longitudinem patet ſupra octoginta leucas.* Which large meaſure as it might alone aſſure us that the Iſland made by this Stream took up a great part of the Weſtern coaſt of the *Perſian Gulf*; ſo it is farther confirmed by the ſituation of *Baharen*, (near which was the mouth of this River) for it is placed by *Ulughbekius* in the Latitude of 23 Deg. whis is almoſt as far South as the Weſtern bottome of the *Perſian Gulf* in *Ptolemy*. All which long Courſe of this River being anciently inhabited by *Havilah*, (the Author of a populous Nation, aad ſpreading far) it will now be no hard matter to find within the compaſs of this Countrey all

those precious things mentioned by *Moses*, Gen. 2. 11, 12. *viz. Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx-stone.* For who hath not heard of the Gold of *Arabia?* And whereas *Moses* seems to denote some excellency in it above ordinary, by adding, *And the Gold of that Land is good:* so also doth *Diodorus Siculus*, whose words are a sufficient Commentary, *Biblioth. l. 3. c. 12. Effoditur in* Arabia *Aurum, quod non igni decoquitur, ut apud alios consuevit; sed e vestigio effossum, nucibus id castaneis simile reperitur: colore est ità lucido, ut pretiosos lapides ab artificibus auro inclusos splendidiores reddat.* Not to mention *the Gold of Parvaim*, 2 Chron. 3. 6. which *Funius* supposes to have been fetched from *Barbatia*, which was a City in this part of *Arabia*, as appears by *Pliny l. 6. c. 28.* And as for הבדלח ואבן השהם, though there be difference amongst Expositors what they were; some taking the former *(Bedolach)* for a precious Stone, others for a Tree, and the most for a precious Gumme issuing out of that Tree, in colour white like unto Manna, *Num. 11. 7. Exod. 16. 31.* and the latter *(Shóham)* some translating the *Onyx*, (as our *English* and others) some the *Beryll*, as the *Chaldee Burla*, and the *Arabick al Belor*, and the *Septuagint* Βήρυλλος, in *Exod. 28. 20.* what-

whatſoever they were, (if they were any of theſe) they were undoubtedly to be found in this Coaſt. For if *Bdellium* were a *ſweet Gumme*, (as is moſt likely) the Tree that yielded it grew in this ſoil, as *Dioſcorides* witneſſeth *lib. 1. cap. 69. Bdellium alii Bolchon appellant, alii Madelcon: lacryma eſt* Saracenicæ *arboris*, (and the Countrey of the *Saracens* we well know was taken in his time to be here.) Or if it were a kind of *Pearl*, *Benjamin* aſſures us it was to be found about *Catifa*, (near which we have found the Out-let of this River.) And for the *Beryll* and *Onyx* and other precious Stones, this Countrey is ſo well known to yield them even to this day, that it is altogether needleſs to produce the teſtimony of the Ancients: onely (becauſe it ſerves ſo well to clear the words of *Moſes*) let us take notice of the report that *Nearchus* (Admiral of *Alexander*'s Fleet) made of the Weſtern Coaſt of the *Perſian Gulf*, which lay upon *the land of Havilah. Strabo Geog. l. 16.* Λέγει δ', &c. *Dicit autem in* Perſicæ *oræ initio Inſulam eſſe, in qua multi & pretioſi Uniones gignantur: in aliis verò clari & pellucidi lapilli. In Inſula quoque ante* Euphratem *arbores Thus redolentes naſci, quarum radices fracta*

succum effundunt. As in this latter clause, among those odoriferous Trees that yielded such excellent juice we may well believe *Bdellium* was not wanting: so in the former, amongst those *Unions* and *precious Stones*, we may be as sure that there was both the *Beryll* and the *Onyx*. And that it was thus in the In-land, as well as about the Sea-coast, *Diod. Siculus* is a competent witness, from whom those that desire it may receive farther satisfaction, *loc. citat.* And hence it was that this Countrey growing famous for those rich Commodities, (as it appears to have been of old by *Moses* taking notice of it) this part of the Land of *Havilah* was by Secular Geographers assigned to that part of *Arabia* that vulgarly (and not undeservedly) goes under the glorious title of *Arabia Felix.*

CHAP. XV.

An Enquiry where the Region of Eden *lies.*

HAving thus finished the Description of the River with its *four Heads*, it remaineth now that we turn our eyes back again, to see if we can discover any thing more

more perfectly concerning the Region of *Eden*, and the Situation of *Paradiſe* in it. And though we well know how obnoxious to exceptions ſuch particularizing is; yet having ingaged our ſelves thus far, and already diſcovered ſome marks in *Moſes* to guide us in this ſearch, we ſhall not refuſe to doe our beſt endeavour to finiſh that alſo. As for the Limits of *Eden*, I think it lies not in the wit of any man at this day to ſet us out punctually and exactly how large or narrow the compaſs of that Countrey was in *Moſes's Chorography*: yet ſeeing himſelf hath told us that the Spring of this River was in *Eden*, he hath left us aſſured that it was either the ſame, or at leaſt a part of that Countrey which Secular Geographers call *Sophane*, lying betwixt the Mountains *Maſius* and *Anti-Taurus*, which did ſo overſhadow it on both ſides, (though it ſelf alſo were full of leſſer Hills) that from thence it ſeems to have taken its denomination: for סוף or צוף (for *Euſtath. Comment. in Dionyſ. Perieg.* calls it Τζοφαρὼ for Τζοφανὼ) is as much as *obtegere vel obumbrare*; and ſo this name was therefore given it, *eò quòd verticibus* Taurinis *umbratur*, as *Ammianus* ſpeaks in the deſcription of *Amida* a famous City of this Province,

lib. 18. And it is not unlikely but we shall find the place we seek for in these parts, if we call to mind in what manner and with what words *Cl. Marius Victor* hath formerly described unto us the nature and quality of that part of this Region where we have already discovered the Fountain of this River, calling it *Armeniæ Saltus ac Medica Tempe:* which is so exact a Paraphrase of *Eden*, and so fully consonant to the words of *Moses*, that no Poet could have given us a better. Besides, the name *Anthemusia* given to this Region, if we pursue it to its first Original, hath much pregnancy in it to evince this. For if we translate Ἀνθεμουσία out of *Greek* into *Hebrew*, (which was very near the vulgar language of the Natives of those parts) what other word could we chuse to render it by but עדן? Truly their significations differ no more then a flowery and fragrant place doth from a place of pleasure. And that this name was anciently appropriated to the Region of *Sophene*, as it is easie to gather out of *Strabo*, so it is observed to our hand by *D. Marius Niger*, who limits it out with the very same Bounds, *Geog. Asiæ Com.* 3. *Sub* Basilisena, *inter* Anti-Taurum & Masium *Montes*, *jacet* Sophena *in convalle quadam*,

quadam, Regio felix. And the very ſame was the ſituation of *Anthemuſia*: *Idem, Com.* 4. *Præterea Regiones in Provincia ſunt* Anthemuſia, *inter* Caſium (*al.* Maſium) *&* Taurum *Montes ad* Armeniam, *&c.* Yet in *Ptolemy*'s time and after (as we may gather from *Ammianus*) it may ſeem to have ſtretched its name ſo far South into *Meſopotamia*, as to reach the places about *Edeſſa*; for *Batne municipium* (ſo highly extolled for the admirable delightfulneſs of the place by the pen of *Julian the Apoſtate*) is by *Ammianus* ſeated in *Anthemuſia*. And that the *Grecians* (after they had conquered the Eaſt) did in this manner change the old name of this Countrey into another of their own language, (yet the ſame in ſignification) we may be aſſured from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who, mentioning ſome of the Cities within this Province, (and amongſt the reſt *Anthemuſias*, remembred alſo by *Pliny* under the name of *Anthemuſia, lib.* 5. *c.* 25. and *Anthemus, lib.* 2. *c.* 26. which we may well ſuppoſe was the ſame City with that which *Ezek.* 27. 23. is called *Eden*) obſerves by the way, that they had formerly other names, till the *Greeks* changed them. *Annal. lib.* 6. *At* Tiridates *volentibus* Parthis Nicephorium *&* Anthemu-

themusiada, *caterásque Urbes, quæ*, Macedonibus *sitæ*, Græca *vocabula usurpant*, Halúmque & Artemitam Parthica *Oppida recepit*. However, there can be no doubt but that *the children of* Eden *which dwelt in* Thelasar, 2 *Kings* 19. 12. were true and native Inhabitants of this Region: for not onely other circumstances of the *Text* do perswade it, but the names of the places remembred with it do assure it, viz. *Gozan, Haran, and Reseph*; all which Cities are placed by *Ptolemy* in the North parts of *Mesopotamia*, and some of them (if I be not deceived) within the compass of *Anthemusia* largely taken. And though it be not easie to design the very place where *Telasar* was seated, nor indeed what it was, whether a Castle, a City, or a Countrey, (or perhaps all;) for *Eusebius*, and after him *Hierom*, give us no more notice of it then that it was χώρα Συρίας, *Regio Syriæ*, by which no doubt they meant *Assyria*, and understood it in no other sense, then that it was conquered and after possessed by the *Assyrians*: yet even that is sufficient to satisfie us that it stood not near *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*, where *Benjamin* dreamed that he had found it. Nor is there any great probability in the opinion of *Junius*, that

that it was *Thilutha*, a Caſtle ſeated in an Iſland of *Euphrates* not far from the borders of *Babylonia*: for beſide the difference of the names, the removing of it at ſo far a diſtance from the forementioned Cities as the South Bounds of *Meſopotamia* are from the North, renders it very improbable. Nor can I ſubſcribe to the *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt*, who affirms *Reſen* (built by *Nimrod* in *Aſſyria*, Gen. 10. 12.) to be *Telaſar*; adding this farther for the better deſignation of the place, that it was ſituate betwixt *Ninive* and *Harjath*, תלאסר בין נינוה ובין הרית, Telaſar *inter* Niniven & Harjath. For this affords ſmall help to us that know not what that *Harjath* was, whether *Charchathiocerta*, (the Metropolis of *Sophane*) as *Junius* ſuppoſeth, or rather that *Harra* or *Arra*, whoſe Territory is remembred by *Geog. Nub.* to lie within *Aſſyria*; betwixt which and *Ninive* if *Telaſar* ſtood, in all likelihood it was no other in the *Paraphraſt*'s meaning then ſome place of ſtrength in the Iſland of *Eden*, (famous among the Eaſtern Chriſtians to this day) lying but twelve miles above *Moſal*: whereto the Opinion of *Epiphanius* may be accommodated, who calls *Reſen* Λόβον, by which (I ſuppoſe) he meant *Labbana*, which *Ptolemy*

lemy placeth upon the banks of *Tigris*, at or near about this Island. But though I will not deny that *Telasar* in after-times might be called *Resen*, yet surely *Resen* in *Assyria* was none of the places which *Sennacherib* boasts of in his Conquests; for they were belonging to other Nations that had other Gods, whereas this was in his own native Countrey, and near his Royal City: and if it should be supposed that he might re-conquer it after some Revolt, yet if *Telasar* had been *Resen* in *Assyria*, it should in reason have challenged the first mention in the Catalogue of his Victories in that order wherein they are set down, and not after *Gozan*, *Haran*, and *Reseph*. More likely therefore it is that *Resen*, which was *Thelasar*, was that mentioned by *Geog. Nubiensis* amongst the Cities of *Diar-Rabiaa*, and placed betwixt *Amed* and *Majafarecquin*; *Part. 6. Clim. 4. De Provinciis* Diar-Rabiaa *sunt* Nisibin, Azun, Amed, Rasaain, Majafarecquin, *&c.* Nor yet doth he mean thereby the *Rhisina* mentioned in *Ptolemy*, as appears not onely by the situation of it, but also because he afterward remembreth that *Rhisina* by the name of *Ras-alain*, *ibid.* though it is true, the signification in them both is the same,

ſame, viz. *Caput, ſeu Fons aqua.* And as that *Rhiſina* or *Raſ-alain* took that name becauſe it ſtood near the Fountain of the River *Cobar*; ſo might this haply take the ſame appellation becauſe it ſtood near the laſt Spring of *Tigris*; for ſo it muſt needs doe if it ſtood South of *Majafarecquin*, and North of *Amida*, which, as *Ammianus* notes *lib.* 18. *è latere quidem Auſtrali geniculato* Tigridis *meatu ſubluitur propiùs emergentis.* And if this *Reſen* were *Telaſar*, we may well conjecture that *the children of* Raſſes, *Judith* 2. 23. conquered by *Nabuchodonoſor*, were the ſame with *the children of* Eden *that were in* Telaſar, formerly ſubdued by ſome of the *Aſſyrian* Kings: for that that *Raſſes* was either this *Raſ-aain*, (or ſome place near it) the circumſtances of the hiſtory plainly prove. Or if we imagine it to have been ſome ſtrong Hold or Caſtle, it might in likelihood be ſeated upon that Hill out of which *Tigris* laſt riſeth, and where the ſtrong Hold of *Amida* after ſtood, remembred by *Ammianus*, and in *Geog. Nub.* called *Tur-aamdin*, and *Propugnacula Amed*, which ſtood a conſiderable diſtance to the North of the City, as appears by the cited Authors, and more plainly *in Not. Prov.*

Or

Or if we rather ſuppoſe it to have been a City, it is as likely to have been *Thalimaſus* as any other, which *Procop. De Bel. Perſico lib.* 1. ſets 40. *ſtad.* diſtant from *Amida*: for the Letter *(M)* with its foregoing Vowel being rejected, (which in forein words often proves *Epentheticall*) it will become *Thalaſus*, which might eaſily be corrupted from *Thalaſar*. Howſoever, it is certain that the Children of *Eden* poſſeſſed the Confines of *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, and their Countrey took up part of both. So much we learn from *Æthicus*, who twice makes mention of it under the name of *Adonis*, (by the like change of the word as the Garden of *Eden* was by the Poets fictitiouſly repreſented under the Gardens of *Adonis*.) Once he names it among the Provinces of the Eaſt, (where his *Commentator Similerus* knows not how to expound it otherwiſe then by *Eden* in *Moſes*;) and afterward among the Rivers: For ſpeaking of a River which he calls *Armodius*, he deſcribes it thus *Fluvius* Armodius *naſcitur in* Æthiopia, *inluſtrans Regionē* Adonis *&* Meſopotamiam; *currit mill.* 724, *& accipitur Sinu* Perſico. Here it is evident that *Adonis* and *Meſopotamia* are neighbour Regions, and that *Adonis* lay more to the North, through

which

which this River flowing, that it should find its Head in *Æthiopia* will not seem strange, if we remember what hath been noted before, and that *Æthicus* a little after finds *Tigris* also rising in the same *Æthiopia:* and in that it is said after so long a Course to empty it self into the *Persian Gulf*, it is apparent that it falls in by the way either with *Tigris* or *Euphrates*, but rather *Euphrates*, which we have before observed to pass under a name so near to this, that we may well suppose them to be the same: For as by most it is called *Arsanias*, so by *Tacitus* it is called *Arsametes*, which so corrupt an Author as *Æthicus* is might easily change into *Armodius*. Or if this Conjecture please not, then supposing *Ar* to be the contract of *Nahar*, i.e. *Fluvius*, (as in *Pliny Armalchar* is *Nahar-malca)* then the remaining part *Modius* is very little different from the old name of *Euphrates*, which (as *Plutarch* tells us) was *Medus:* for so he, *Lib. De Flu.* Εὐφράτης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Παρθίας, κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα πόλιν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ πρότερον Μῆδος, Euphrates Parthiæ *Fluvius est juxta* Babylonem *urbem, qui antea dictus est* Medus. So that *Armodius* is no other then the primitive and original Stream of *Euphrates*, or else some

Rivolet

Rivolet running into it. And as this Testimony of *Æthicus* gives us a true and exact intelligence of the Region of *Eden*, both in its name and situation: so no less clear is the Testimony of *Sextus Rufus*, who remembreth it under the same name, and in the same place, among the Conquests of *Lucullus*. His words are these: Tigranocertam, *maximam* Armeniæ *Civitatem*, *expugnavit*; Adenam, *optimam* Armeniorum *Regionem*, *obtinuit*; *per* Melitenam *ad* Mesopotamiam *descendit*; Nisibin *cum* Fraate *Rege cepit*, *&c.* This *Adena*, that lay in the way of *Lucullus* returning from *Tigranocerta* to *Melitene*, and from thence passing into *Mesopotamia* to *Nisibis*, could be no other then this Region of *Eden*. Indeed in some Copies it is *Madenam*; but in the Impression of *Fansonius* (which is the latest and best corrected) it is, as we have written it, *Adenam*: and we may suppose that in the original *Manuscript* it was *Hadenam* (with an aspirate,) which by changing *H* into *M* was made *Madenam*; though even that reading will not offend those that remember how *Marius Victor* hath called the places hereabout *Medica Tempe*; and *Q. Curtius*, noting the Decourse of *Tigris* betwixt the *Cordiaci* (i. e. the *Carduchi*)

and

and this Region, calls it *Mediam*, *l.* 5. As for the title of *optimam Armeniorum regionem*, it is the ſame *Encomium* that this Author afterwards in the Life of *Trajan* gives to *Anthemuſia*, calling it in like manner *optimam Perſidis regionem*: which as it may argue (what we have noted) that *Adena* and *Anthemuſia* were the ſame Region; ſo it gives us farther to note how fully it did make good the ſignification of both theſe names, being a place of that delightfulneſs, that no Region of the Eaſt was able to hold compare with it. And we may well believe it was ſo, not onely from the temperature of the Climate in which it was ſeated, (viz. betwixt the Latitude of 37 and 40 Deg.) but alſo by the many rare and precious things that *Geographers* and *Hiſtorians* report to be found here. For not onely was it a moſt fruitful Soil, yielding increaſe at almoſt an incredible proportion; but it yielded precious Stones alſo and Gold mines, (as after will appear.) It was ſtored with all ſorts of Trees both for uſe and ornament, emulating a perpetual Spring, yielding many rare and delicious Fruits; beſides many medicinable Herbs, Plants and Druggs, not elſewhere to be

found of like virtue or worth. Ἔστι γὰρ εὔβοτος ἡ χώρα καὶ εὐερνὴς, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἀεὶθαλῆ τρέφειν, καὶ ἄρωμα τὸ ἄμωμον· καὶ λεοντόβοτός ἐστι· φέρει δὲ καὶ τὴν νάφθαν, καὶ τὴν γαγγίτιν λίθον, ἣ φεύγει τὰ ἑρπετὰ, *Nam Regio pascuis læta est ac germinibus; adeóque etiam fert quæ semper virent, & de aromatibus Amomum. Est etiam leontopodifera, & gignit Naphtham, & Gagatem lapidem, qui serpentes fugat; Strabo Geog. l.* 16. From which plenty of choice Commodities we may learn the reason why, amongst those that trafficked at *Tyre*, three Cities of this Region are remembred by *Ezekiel, ch.* 27. 23. *Charan*, *Channe*, and *Heden*. Of *Heden* there can be no doubt, and something may be intimated of the situation of it afterward. *Channe*, or *Canne*, was either *Caini*, which in *Notit. Provinc.* is placed a little below *Amida*; or rather that City which gave name to the Countrey where *Tigris* had its last rise, which in some Copies of *Strabo* is read *Chalonitis*, but by *Casaubon Chaonitis*, and *Strabo* himself acknowledgeth a Region of that name adjoyning to *Assyria*. And for *Charan* or *Haran*, it was not that which lay so far to the South in *Mesopotamia*, where *Abraham* dwelt; but the City

Corra

Corra in *Ptolemy*, whence the Region *Corrinæa*, which *Pliny* (rejecting the aſpiration) calleth *Arrhene*, and lay about the place where the River of *Eden* firſt divides its Streams: and the ſame (I think) was that *Haran*, before mentioned, which adjoyned upon *the Children of* Eden *which were in* Telaſar. And hereof the *Amomum* mentioned by *Strabo* may give us aſſurance, which grew within the territories of this City: So much I learn from *Joſephus*, *Antiq. Jud. l.* 20. *c.* 2. *Accerſitum igitur filium maximo affectu excepit, eíque donavit Regionem quæ dicitur* Cæron, *Amomi feraciſſimam. In ea ſervantur Arcæ reliquiæ, quâ* Noe *fertur evaſiſſe Diluvium; oſtenditúrque ibi hodie quoque videre volentibus.* But that is generally believed to have been about *Gordiæa*; adjoyning to which was this Region of *Cheron* or *Charan*, which being for the moſt part under the dominion of the Kings of *Aſſyria* or *Adiabene*, (as *Joſephus* there teſtifies) hence it was that *Virgil* called it *Aſſyrium amomum*, though growing indeed in *Armenia*, (as *Dioſcorides* teſtifies) *Eclog.* 4. Aſſyrium *vulgò naſcetur amomum*. And ſeeing it cannot be doubted, but ſuch Aromati-

call plants and herbs muſt needs perfume this Countrey with ſuch an odoriferous and fragrant ſmell, as might well enough reach thoſe parts of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria* through which *Alexander*'s Army marched; I am inclinable to believe that this Countrey was it which *Q. Curtius* calleth by the name of *Arabia*, lying on their left hand in their journey to *Babylon*. *Euntibus aperit ſe læva* Arabia, *odorum fertilitate nobilis Regio. Campeſtre iter eſt, inter* Tigrim *&* Euphratem, *tam uber & pinguis ſoli, ut à paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, nè ſatietas perimat.* And here by the way we may correct an error in the former Book of the ſame Hiſtorian, who having told us of *Alexander*'s paſſing his Army over *Euphrates*, and thereupon refreſhing them for a few daies, adds, *Igitur quarto die præter* Arbella *penetrat ad* Tigrim. It is not eaſie to conceive what this *Arbella* ſhould be, that *Alexander* marched by in his paſſage through *Meſopotamia* unto *Tigris*; for it is certain that *Arbella* where he gave *Darius* his laſt defeat was not onely beyond *Tigris*, but the River *Lycus* alſo. Therefore I fear not to affirm that, in ſtead of *præter Arbella*, it ought to be read *præteritâ*

ritâ Arabiâ: and so *Pliny* frequently calls the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* (especially that part which lay about the Mountains, and adjoyned upon *Armenia*) by the name of *Arabes*; and at this day it is called *Azemia*, or *Ayaman*, the same name which they give to *Arabia Felix*. I might here adde something farther out of *Strabo*, concerning the strange plenty of Hony dropping down from the leaves of the trees, (like that 1 *Sam.* 14. 26.) the huge clusters of Grapes, and excellency of the Wines in the adjoyning parts of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia:* but (not to insist upon particulars) if we desire the exact ὑποτύπωσις of such a place as in every respect fully deserves the name of *Eden*, let us take that description which *Dionysius Afer* hath made of this Countrey about the Lake *Thonitis*, and the distance betwixt the Streams of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

Ὅσση δ' Εὐφρήτου καὶ Τίγριος ἔνδοθι γαῖα,
Τήνδε περικτίονες Μέσσην ποταμῶν ἐνέπουσιν.
Οὐ μέντοι κείνης γε νομοὺς ὠνόσσατο βούτης,
Οὐδ' ὅστις σύριγγι κερώνυχα Πᾶνα γεραίρων,

Μήλοις ἀγραύλοισιν ἐφέσσεται· οὐδὲ μὲν ὕλην
Γαντοίην φυτοεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἀθερίσσατο καρπῶν.
Τοίη ἐπὶ κείνης ἄρουσις πέλει, ἐν μὲν ἀέξειν
Ποίην, ἐν δὲ νομοὺς εὐανθέας, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
Φύτλην, καλλίστην τε καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοίην.

Which *Rhamnius Fannius* the Grammarian hath translated in *Latin* thus:

Hoc tamen omne solum fluvius quod cingit uterque
Indigenæ populi pro re dixere Medamnem,
Quòd medias amnes has terras flumine cingunt;
Agricolis pariter, pastoribus atque feracem:
Ubere tam læto florenti semina cuncta
Herbarúmque thoris & gramina læta virescunt,
Et variis rami complentur fructibus alti.
Gens quoque præfulget claris in laudibus illa:
Nam peperit multos celsâ virtute potentes,
Atque adeò similes Diis immortalibus illos.

Which Description suits so well to *Adam*'s *Paradise*,

Paradiſe, both in regard of the excellent Paſturage, the plenty of all manner of Fruit-Trees, the admirable Fertility of the Soil, and the flowry Meadows, that by that ἀνδρῶν φύτλιν καλλίστην τε καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοίην, *Hominum ſtirpem pulcherrimam & immortalibus ſimilem*, we might ſuppoſe the *Poet* had a mind to repreſent before our eyes our Firſt Parents inhabiting this happy place, while yet in their Innocency, created after the image and ſimilitude of God. So that all this being laid together, we may well believe *Ab. Ortelius* had good reaſon for what he did, when he ſet the Countrey of *Eden* juſt in this place, *Tab.* 1. *Geograph. Sac.*

CHAP. XVI.

A more particular Conſideration of the very place of the Situation of the Garden of Eden.

AS for the particular place of this Countrey where the *Garden of Eden* or *Paradiſe it ſelf was ſeated*, though it might be deemed to trench too near upon Curioſity

rioſity to be too inquiſitive after it; yet ſeeing *Moſes* hath not neglected to give us ſome notes whereby to find out the Bounds of it, we need not fear to follow ſuch a *Guide*, ſo long as we keep cloſe to his footſteps. *Gen.* 2. he plainly intimates that *the Garden-place was betwixt the Fountain of the River and the diviſion of its Streams*: for theſe are his words, v. 10. *And a River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads.* If that משם *ab inde* be to be taken with its neareſt reference, *viz. the Garden*, and not the more remote, *viz. Eden*, (as in all reaſon it ought to be taken) then the obſervation of *Danæus* (formerly cited) is moſt ſound and true, that the River immediately after its efflux out of its Fountain watered the *Garden* with one entire Chanel; and then, having paſt it, broke it ſelf into theſe Streams. Whence it followeth, that, ſeeing the firſt Diviſion of its Stream was (as *Pliny* hath told us) in the Region of *Arrhene*, (the ſame which *Ptolemy* calleth *Corrinæa*) *the place of the Garden was betwixt* Corra (*or* Charan) *and the Fountains of* Tigris, in the midſt whereof, and upon the bank

bank of the River, ſtood the *Tree of Life*, as may be gathered from *Gen.* 2. 9. *Rev.* 2. 7. and 22. 2. Juſt about which place when we ſee in *Ptolemy* the nitrous Lake *Thoſpites* overflowing, it might not a little ſtumble us, if we did not remember, that as the Land of *Sodome*, which before its overthrow was like the *Garden of God* for delicioufneſs, *Gen.* 13. 10. was for the ſin of the Inhabitants turned into a Sulphureous Lake; ſo might God in like manner change the moſt remarkable place of the *Earthly Paradiſe* for the ſin of our firſt Parents. And this Conjecture (for I eſteem it no more) may (I hope) paſs with as good probability as theirs, who have imagined thoſe fiery Flaſhings iſſuing out of ſome Lakes about *Aſſyria* or *Babylonia*, ſtill to remain as teſtimonies of *the Cherubims flaing ſword turning every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life*, Gen. 3. *ult.* But as this Conjecture helpeth us little, ſo neither doth it hinder us from ſearching (and haply finding) ſome remaining memory of *the Garden* about this place. And though I confeſs this attempt never entred into my thoughts at my firſt on-ſet upon this Queſtion, as taking it then to be a Secret beyond

yond diſcovery, and being ready to reſt ſatisfied if I could but find out the true Deſcription of the River with its Heads, and the Region of *Eden*: yet having upon farther ſearch more ſeriouſly weighed the names which Secular Authors give this part of the Region of *Eden*, and finding them very ſignificant and argumentative to this purpoſe, I did not onely receive farther ſatisfaction about this particular doubt, but was filled with admiration alſo, that ſuch pregnant Teſtimonies ſhould ſo long time have eſcaped the obſervation of ſo many learned pens as have travelled in this Queſtion. Three names are given by ſeveral Authors to that portion of ground which fell within the bounds of *the Garden*, as *Moſes* hath ſet them. The firſt is that of *Ptolemy*, who calls that Region which lay next to the Eaſt of the Fountains of *Tigris* by the name of *Bagrandavene*, for ſo it is in the Edition of *Maginus*, *Lib.* 5. *Tab.* 3. *Ab Oriente verò fontium* Tigridis Bagrandavene *eſt*: and yet in the Map of the ſame Edition it is called *Bajavandena*. *Ortelius* in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus* calls it *Bagravandena*. *D. Mar. Niger*, *Geogr. Aſiæ Com.* 3. calls it *Bagrandana*, and *Bagradavena*.

vena. And others have called it *Bagradena* and *Bagadena.* Secondly, *Procopius* usually calls the Countrey that lies about the *Thospian Lake*, and stretches it self Eastward to the River *Nymphæus*, by the name of *Arzane* or *Arxane*: others call it *Arsea*, and *Arsene*, (even as the *Thospian Lake* is by *Strabo* called *Arsena palus.*) Thirdly, *Strabo* himself calls the Countrey adjoyning to it *Syspereitis*, or more frequently (rejecting the superfluous *S* præfixed to the beginning of the word, and serving for no other use but to obscure the true Etymology of it) *Hyspereitis*, and *Hysperatis*; and constantly placeth it betwixt *Armenia* and *Calachena*, which lay North-west of *Assyria.* For *lib.* 11. recording the fable of *Armenius* born at *Armenium* near the *Bæbeian Lake* in *Thessaly*, and peopling this place under the conduct of *Jason*, he adds, τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τοὺς μὲν τὴν Ἀκισιλινὴν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ τὴν Συσπειρῆτιν, ἕως Καλαχάνης καὶ Ἀδιαβανῆς. The like also he hath afterward in another place of the same Book, in which he farther tells us of a Town called *Cambala*, from whence *Alexander* sent *Memnon* to fetch great store of Gold. Μέταλλα δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ὑσπιράτιδι ἐστι χρυσοῦ

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κτ̄ τὰ Κάμβαλα, ἐφ' ἃ Μέμνονα ἔπεμψεν Ἀλέξανδρος μτ̄ στρατιωτῶν· ἀνήχθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, *Sunt & auri metalla in* Hyspiratide *apud* Cambala, *ad quæ* Memnonem *misit* Alexander: *allata sunt autem ab incolis.* Now if we had the true names of this Region set clear from all ambiguity, I doubt not but we might spell out of them some broken remembrance of the *Garden of Eden*, and of *Paradise*. For to examine the first, *Bagrandavena*, or rather (as most write it) *Bagravadena* or *Bagradena*; who easily discerns not that it is a compound word, and that the latter part of its composition was *Adena*? so that haply in its own proper language it was written בגרה-עדנה, and what is this in effect but גן-עדן as *Moses* calls it? For בגר amongst the *Rabbins* is *pubescere*, and בגרה applied to the description of a place is as much as *ager pube variorum seminum lætus*, as *Ammianus* describes a Garden-spot near *Seleucia*; which very place (if I mistake not) *Xenophon* calleth παράδεισον. And hereto accords the *Hebrew* word בחר (from whence no doubt the Rabbins had their בגר) which, as applied to mankind it signifies *Juvenis*, Ezek. 9. 6. so applied to a place

a place it is *lectus*, *electus*, *ſelectus*: and ſo that Valley in Mount *Libanus*, where *the Houſe of Eden*, mentioned *Amos* 1.5. and the City *Paradiſus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, ſtood, is by *Guilel. Tyrius* called *Vallis Baccar* and *Vaccar*. And of the ſame importance is the name *Macedena*, which *Eutropius* (formerly alledged) applieth to this place, as appears by the places mentioned with it, and the reducing it into the form of a Province by *Trajan*, with the Nations that lay about it, *viz.* *Anthemuſium*, *the Arabians*, *the Quinque Regiones Tranſtigritanæ*, (ſo often mentioned in following Hiſtories) &c. Now what is *Macedena*, but מנר-עדן? and is all one in ſignification with *Bagradena* or *Bacaradena*, and in them both as much as *pretioſiſſima vel ſelectiſſima portio* Hedenis: and what elſe was that but *the Garden?* Or if we may ſuppoſe *Eutropius* called it *Macedena* in ſtead of *Bacedena* or *Bagedena*, extricating the *R*, (and ſo it is written by ſome) even this alſo comes up to our purpoſe, and fully ſpeaks out the thing we ſeek for, *viz.* *Hortus Edenis*. For the Eaſtern Nations even to this day call a Garden *Baga*, as *Petrus Texeira* in his Itinerary tells us: For dicourſing of

of the Original of the name of that famous City *Bagdat*, he affirms that it took this denomination from hence, becauſe it was formerly *a Garden-ſpot*. *Nomen autem inveniſſe putatur à Baga*, Perſis *Horto*, *quia primò tantùm Bagadaden*, *id eſt*, *Horti*, *ibidem fuerunt*. And in all likelihood they derived this word from the *Hebrew* בג which ſignifieth *eſca*, *præda*, *cibus*: and by changing *Gimel* into *Tzajin* it is made בז *Ezek.* 7. 21. from which בו or בוז I ſuppoſe the corrupted word *Bajavandena* receives moſt properly the former part of its compoſition. So that which way ſoever we turn it, the memory of *the Garden of Eden* may be retrived from this name. And no leſs clearly may it be gathered from the ſecond name given by others to this Region, *viz.* *Arzane*, *Arſane*, *Arſea*, &c. For what more apt *Radix* can we find for it then ארס, which among the Rabbins ſignifies *Hortus*, even as ארוס ſignifieth *Hortulanus*, as *Buxtorfius* teacheth us in his *Lexicon Rabbino-Philoſophicum*? and ſo accordingly *Heſychius* interprets Ἄρσια λειμῶνες· and what λειμὼν is himſelf after tells us, that it is ἀνθηρὸς τόπος, *locus floridus*: and yet in the next word λειμωνιὰς he tells

tells us alſo that it ſignifies ἄρκτος καὶ νύμφαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ νύμφαι ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσιν. Both which ſignifications how well they may be applied to the place we now diſcourſe of, will appear, if we conſider that this Region was a part of *Sophane*, which among other ſignifications is alſo tranſlated ἄρκτος, *Septentrio*, Ezek. 47. 17. And for thoſe αἱ νύμφαι he ſpeaks of, that they are to be found ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσιν, in the flowry Meadows of this Region, we need not doubt, ſeeing that name alſo is to be found hereabout. For not onely have we the River *Nymphæus*, (ſo often remembred in *Procopius*, and called by *Pliny* by a correſpondent name *Parthenias*;) but the ſame *Pliny* tells us alſo, that the place where *Tigris* riſeth again (after it hath run ſome ſpace under ground) is called *Nymphæum*, which renders it very probable that the ſame name was attributed to the Region that lay about it. Now if we would take the notion of *Paradiſe* under a Heathen word, we cannot have a better then Νυμφαῖον. For the deſcription that is given of it is ſo ſuitable to that which they make of a *Perſian Paradiſe*, that we may ſafely affirm they are but *Synonyma*'s of the ſame thing: for as that,

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ſo this was no other then *a delicious Valley* abounding with all the choice rarities and delights of Nature, where Emperours and Kings had their retiring Palaces and Houſes of pleaſure. We might juſtifie this by that *Nymphæum* in the coaſts of *Apollonia*, remembred by *Strabo lib. 7. Plutarch, in Vita Sullæ, &c.* as alſo that about *Stagira* mentioned by the ſame *Plutarch, in Vit. Alexand. Ludum eis & ſtudii locum* Nymphæum *prope* Miezam *aſſignavit; ubi & hâc ætate ſedes* Ariſtotelis *lapideas, & ambulationes umbroſas monſtrant.* But I ſhall content my ſelf, onely to tranſcribe the obſervation that *Leunclavius* hath made upon this word, which is abundantly ſufficient to give us the true importance of it. *Pand. Hiſt. Turc. n. 153. Prætor* Græciæ *noſter cujuſdam regii vel imperatorii palatii meminit, cui nomen dat* Nymphæum. *Ab eo non procul diſſitum deſcribit locum, tali Teggiurum vel Imperatorum Prato rebus omnibus ſimillimum. Alicubi de* Nymphæo: Michael, *ait,* Palæologus *Imperator* Nymphæum *pervenerat, quo loco recreare ſe ſolebant Imperatores, poſtquam* Conſtantinopoli (*à* Flandris) *in exilium ejecti fuerant. Alibi verò Planitiem vel Pratum ipſum*

ipſum deſcribit his verbis: Quum dies aliquot (Imperator, Joannes *ſc.* Ducas Vatatzes) Phlebiis *exegiſſet,* Clyzomenen *profectus, (hoc loco nomen eſt) ibidem tentoria figi juſſit. Nam iſthic Imperatores è* Nymphæo *digreſſi commorari ſolent, majorémque Veris partem tranſigere. Quippe totus ille locus mera planities eſt, quæ graminis copiam, compluribus equis ſufficientem, producit. Aquis etiam irrigatur, ac in propinquo multos pagos & Civitates habet, à quibus ad victum neceſſariæ res copioſè ſubminiſtrantur.* But what ſhall we ſay to the third name which *Strabo* gives this Region, *viz. Syſpereitis,* and otherwhile *Hyſperatis?* is there any thing in that alſo ſounding this way? Yes very much, if we purge it from thoſe ſuperfluities which the fault of ſome mens tongues and pens have ſtuffed it with; I mean the double *S*, which ſeems to have thruſt it ſelf into this word in the ſame manner that it hath done into the name of our neighbour-Kingdom of *Spain.* For as that at the firſt was *Pania,* (as *Pliny* teſtifies *l.* 3. *c.* 1.) after by the addition of an *S* it became *Spania,* (and ſo S. *Paul* calls it *Rom.* 15. 24.) and at length by prefixing an article it was

made *Hiſpania:* ſo it might (and we are perſuaded it did) befall this word, from which if we reject the ſuperfluous letter, it will become *Hypereitis* or *Hyperatis*, or rather, as it was written in its own native language, חוא פרדים; and what (I pray) is this but *Ipſe Paradiſus?* And I am the more confirmed in this, becauſe *Strabo* in like manner calls that place in *Libya* where thoſe Gardens (ſo much famed by the Poets) were ſuppoſed to be ſituate, *Syſpereitis*, which by others are commonly called *Heſperides Horti:* and that they took their name from חוא פרדים is as credible, as it is certain that they took their conceit from ſome broken notions of *Moſes*'s *Paradiſe*. And I hope I may be excuſed if upon this ground I take liberty to conjecture, that the City *Pherendis*, which *Ptolemy* placeth near about the Fountains of *Tigris*, was anciently written *Pheredis*; it being ſo common for the letter *N* to thruſt it ſelf into words whereof it is not Radicall: and ſo this alſo in its own proper character ſhould be פרדים, which perhaps was the *Metropolis of this Region*, and communicated in the ſame name with it. And I am the rather emboldened to write this, becauſe near about

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the ſame place was the *City Heden* ſeated, if *Petrus Bizarus* miſinform us not; for he placeth it nigh *Mount Cordan*, (or, as he calls it, *Corteſtan*) which is the right ſituation of this City in *Ptolemy*. *Hiſt. Perſ. lib.* 12. *Sunt etiam hæc loca infraſcripta, videlicet* Combalechum, Baſtemum, Mulaſia, Vanla, Dreſherinum, & Saltamatum; *quæ loca ſita ſunt in regione vulgò* Chimeldata, & *ut plurimùm poſita inter* Euphratem & Tigrim, *ad latus Montis quem incolæ* Corteſtanum, *nos* Taurum *appellamus. His quoque adjiciunt* Adenam, *Urbem præclaram & divitem, in qua ſunt plurimæ textrinæ lini goſſipii, & jacet ad latus ejuſdem Montis, &c.* Indeed *Stephanus* περὶ πόλ. mentioning a City about theſe parts which he calls Ἔδδανα, (from *Eddanus* a Captain, as he imagined) finds it ſeated upon *Euphrates*, and inhabited by *Phænicians*: but the name *Euphrates* is ambiguous, (as hath been noted) and it might well be there were more *Heden's* then one in this Region, even as *Pliny* alſo remembreth both *Anthemus* and *Anthemuſia*. As for the ſtore of Gold that *Alexander* is ſaid to find at *Cambala* a City of *Hyſperatis*, that will ſeem nothing incredible, if we remem-

ber what was formerly ſaid of the River *Chryſorrhoas*, which taking its ſpring about this Region, had that name given it from its golden ſtreams. Nor is it to be neglected, that the Region called *Mithracina* (where the famous breed of *Niſaan horſes*, yearly ſent by the *Satrapa* of thoſe Territories to the *Perſian Emperour*, were kept) ſeems by *Strabo*, and is by *D. Marius Niger* expreſly affirmed to be about this place: which as it is an argument of the Fertility of this Soil, in regard of the pleaſant Meadows and excellent Paſturage here to be found; ſo it teſtifies in what high eſteem they held this portion of ground, in that they entitled it to their great *God Mithra*, (to whom alſo Horſes were ſacred, 2 *Kings*, 23. 11.) for מתרא קנה is as much as *Ager vel poſſeſſio Mithræ*. And this alſo correſponds very well to another title uſually given to *Paradiſe* in the Scriptures, wherein it is divers times called גן-אלהים *Hortus Domini*. But I am very ſenſible how obnoxious theſe *Grammatical Criticiſms* will be to the cenſure of ſuch as are willing to ſhew themſelves pertinacious, whom we muſt not preſume to perſuade to accept ſuch arguments for *Apodictical Demonſtrations*: yet if they

they will conſider, that theſe are as good Arguments as the nature of the Subject we handle will well afford or bear, and that *Notation* is one of our *Logical Topicks*, from which ſound Arguments may ſometime be drawn, (foraſmuch as *Nomen* may prove *Notamen*, the natures of things otherwhile agreeing with their names, according to that of the Poet,

Conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis)

they will give us leave (I hope) to make uſe of it to as much ſervice as here we intend to apply it to. For it is not the Etymology of a few names onely that hath induced us to this belief, but we have farther for the confirmation of it a conſtant Tradition ſucceſſively continued in theſe parts, that hereabout was the place of *Adam's Paradiſe*. The firm belief whereof gave (no doubt) great advantage of credulity to that *joculatory Paradiſe*, (ſeated in ſome Valley amongſt theſe Mountains,) by the allurements whereof that notable *Impoſtour Aladeules* engaged ſo many ſeduced perſons to his ſervice, and thereby rendred himſelf formidable to the mightieſt Monarchs of his time. A ſtory well known in the *Turkiſh* Annals, and touched upon by thoſe

who have written the Life of *Selymus*, and is related at large by our Countrey-man Mr. *Cartwright* in his Travels through thoſe parts. Nor was this Opinion brought in by the *Turks*, but entertained long before by the Chriſtians, yea (if my authority fail me not) even in the times before the *Flood*, at what time S. *Chryſoſtome* was perſuaded the place of *Paradiſe* was well known. The Author that affirms this is *Methodius*: a fabulous Author, (I confeſs) and full of droſs, among which notwithſtanding ſome grains of Gold may be found; ſo that if his Traditions be well ſifted, they may ſometimes become helpful to us to ſpell out divers uſeful Antiquities, which we may in vain ſeek for in many a better Writer. Now this ancient Author *(in lib. Revel.)* ſpeaking of the death of *Seth*, and the ſeceſſion of his poſterity from the poſterity of *Cain*, hath among other things this remarkable paſſage: *Mortuo* Seth *ſeparavit ſe Cognatio ejus à ſobole* Caini, *redierúntque ad natale ſolum. Nam & Pater eorum viviens prohibuerat nè miſcerentur. Et habitavit Cognatio* Seth *in* Cordan *monte, Paradiſo terreſtri proximo.* If *the terreſtrial Paradiſe* were near the *Mount Cor-*

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dan, and that *Mount Cordan* or *Gordiæus* ſtood in the ſame place where *Ptolemy* hath ſet it; then we may reſt ſecured, that the happy ſeat of our Firſt Parents Habitation was at or about the very place that we have deſcribed. And now to conclude: Though all theſe evidences laid together (which ſurely are as great as well may be expected in a Subject of this nature) have not raiſed our confidence to ſuch a height as ſome have attained to, (and, as we ſuppoſe, upon far weaker grounds;) yet we verily believe that if they whom God hath bleſſed with abler parts, more skill in the Tongues, Hiſtory, Geography, &c. a larger freedom from other imployments and diſtractions, with a more plentiful ſupply of Books, and other accommodations for ſuch a ſtudy, (all which we want) would reſume this Argument, and apply their pens to the farther ſearch of this *not-unneceſſary Queſtion*, they might here (ſooner then in any other place yet diſcovered) find out *the true place of the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe.*

FINIS.